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A CREEDLESS WORLD.

In the presence of mysteries which become more mysterious the more they are thought about; in the presence of an agnosticism as often dogmatic in its self-assurance as it appears proud of its ignorance; in the presence of a scepticism which derides what it cannot understand; and under the fostering care of a devitalised Christianity, or non-Christianity, which pares our creed to human capacity, there is growing up a tendency to speculations about the creed of the future. The pages of the *Nineteenth Century* witness to this fact, and show that a new phase of an old problem has to be encountered.

Mr. Herbert Spencer's article 'Religion a Retrospect and Prospect' opened this branch of the subject, in which he was followed and criticised by Mr. Justice Stephen, upon whose admissions Miss F. P. Cobbe bases a recent paper in the *Contemporary Review*, entitled 'A Faithless World.' 'A Creedless World' would we think have been the better title, for herein lies the recognition of the phase of thought we have entered upon. The world has always been *faithless*, in the chief sense of the word; but *creedless* it has never been. The scepticism or atheism of early centuries was but skin deep. Celsus, Porphyry or Julian, to whom the opponents of Christianity look as the 'Fathers of Scepticism,' were more in

sympathy with polytheism than with atheism, and were filled with innate superstition.

During the controversies of later centuries it was rather the form of Christianity, than the existence of religion itself that was at stake. The assault was often veiled by external conformity, and by the suavity of philosophy, and weakened by its inconsistencies. Each critic or philosopher differed as much from the premises or conclusions of his predecessor as both did from those of the creed they united to assail. Hence there was little continuity of attack. Now however there is a change. The battle is taken up in the name of science. With some of the prestige of success; for many of the outworks of Christianity, excrescences of ancient superstition or grafts of sacerdotalism, have been carried; and the ever deepening and broadening foundations of science give some hope of attaining to a full and comprehensive view of nature. It is under cover then of science that the attack is now made, and made with the confidence that facts inspire, but none of the diffidence which deductions should remember; made with a dogmatism which would fain treat the deduction as if it were as infallible as the facts,—an apotheosis of metaphysics which comes strangely from the physical school. Thus it is then, that having assured us of the untenable nature of all religious creeds, the apostles of agnosticism comfort us by saying that there is little to fear in the now so certain and near prospect of a 'creedless world.'

The prospect according to Mr. Spencer is of a wider grasp of science, which will but deepen the mystery of all being, and while depriving us of an explanation with a 'seeming feasibility,' will carry us back a little further and there leave us in the presence of the 'avowedly inexplicable.' He would appear to have reached this lofty stage of evolution himself; and accordingly ceases to concern himself as to the practical import of such views. It is outside of his 'system' to consider how far mankind may be affected by this negation of religion; although he appears to think that the "certainty of the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy" (Why the capitals?) may be a source of satisfaction to the evolved man of the future.

Mr. Justice Stephen, however looking at the question from a practical point of view, tells us that if Christianity and every other form of Theism passed away there would be little change in the happiness or the morality of life. "The change" he says "would come in regard to the mystical, emotional part of morality." "If the Apostles' Creed is given up, the Sermon on the

Mount and the Parables will go too . . . and if Christian theology were exploded, Christian charity would not survive it." Nevertheless "life will remain in most particulars and to most people much what it is at present," and, after all, the easy, lukewarm, worldly Christian will prove to have been right, and all enthusiasm after righteousness an utter mistake. This is the position, briefly stated, which Miss Cobbe practically accepts in its main outlines, as possibly to be realised; while bewailing the loss of the mystical and emotional part of religious morality.

1. But it is this position which we think a slight analysis of history and the nature of society will prove to be faulty and dangerous.

Voltaire never proclaimed a more important social truth, than when he said "If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent Him." It now appears that Voltaire erred—certainly not from prejudice—and that so far from it being a social necessity to "invent God," it is not practically worth while to know anything about Him, although He may really exist. Such is the advanced position of agnostics. The basis of this view is the belief that where religion has failed, philosophy, or civilization in its evolution, will succeed.

That Christianity has failed, many strenuous efforts have been made to prove. It is well to see ourselves as others see us; and we doubt not that the gentle satire of Mr. Herbert Spencer on the mental pauperism of the average church-going Christian, or his fierce diatribes against the militant spirit of Christendom, which he describes as a "hundred million Pagans masquerading as Christians," may be profitably studied. This is scarcely however a revelation. There are still prophets in Israel.

Many and loud have been the Church's denunications of the evil which exists now, as it always has existed, within, as well as without, the great organizations of Christian teaching and philanthropy. As we look at the long records of crime revealed in our Police Courts, as we read the stories of degraded vice, and listen to the wail of the outcast in the large cities of Europe, the sense of failure may brood heavy over us. But the effort to amend such a state is one in which Christian impulse and labour have ever been foremost.

The Ideal of Christianity is the life of One who went about doing good; or, in modern phrase, who endeavoured to ameliorate the condition of the masses. The Ideal is not one of asceticism, although of deepest self-denial. And it has not been fruitless. If Christianity had failed, which it has not, the fault would have lain not

with its Founder, nor with the conception, but with the material to work with. But in spite of its myriad failings, the central idea of Christianity has not been barren; and some, touched with the Divine Love, have always been found to wage war against suffering and sin with all the enthusiasm of their renewed natures. In spite of the purity and tenderness, in spite of the zeal and self-denying devotion of such, still the Kingdom of Evil is strong, and a huge ever-widening chasm separates an outcast population from the sphere of ordinary philanthropic measures.

But if the pastor were removed, the Churches swept away, and religion itself destroyed, along with every external sign of the 'lingering superstition' is there any more likelihood of a successful contest with the gross immorality, the dishonesty, cruelty or falsehood which stains modern civilization? Yet upon such success is bound up the welfare of society. Righteousness is the vitality of nations, as well as the essence of religion. Without it there can be no solid progress individual or national. There have been brilliant flashes of civilization under other than Christian influence. Egypt and Arabia, Greece and Rome each illuminated for a brief space the known world; started with giant strides on the path of civilization; sank into decay, and perished. The civilization fostered under the best of heathen philosophies perished by those evils which civilization always engenders. Unless moral enlightenment proceed *pari passu* with material progress, civilization cannot endure. It gives birth to luxury; and in the social chasms it creates are stored the thunder-storms of anarchy and revolution, in whose turmoil all the landmarks of progress are swept away.

2. With all its faults, the era of Christianity has been the age of progress, and progress is conterminous with Christianity. Under its influence civilization has prospered, because it has been restrained; it has been fostered, but the doctrine of self-denial, and the duty of benevolence have checked the evils which its rank growth would have caused.

The soil of philosophy or of culture is too scanty and shallow to allow of civilization striking a deep root. This is true of the individual. A thin veneering of philosophy may be laid over the coarse-grained passions of human nature, but anything deeper than a scratch will expose the true material. Mr. Frederick Harrison's sharp pen quite suffices to arouse a militant retort from the apostle of modern agnosticism. It is still more true of nations. The masses are but little affected by the current philosophy, and shun 'sweet-

ness and light' as the owl does the sun. In times of repose we listen to the dulcet tones of the prophets of æstheticism, culture and evolution in West-end saloons, and the voice of the East-end is unheeded. But a time comes when the hoarse cry of Faubourg St. Antonie sweeps through the Boulevardes; society is overthrown, and in the turmoil of the people the essential immorality of atheism is exposed in its naked bareness by the brutal passions of the masses. The truth written large on the face of history is that the only agency which has materially and permanently contributed to the elevation and progress of the lower orders of society, has been the preaching of the Gospel. "Philosophy," said one atheist scornfully, "does not concern itself with cobblers and maid-servants." This is left to Christianity; and it is the proud boast of the Church, whose Founder kept company with publicans and sinners, that never was more activity displayed in mission efforts than now.

A secular paper, not usually favourable to orthodox Christianity, reviewing the life of George Eliot, said that, great moral teacher as she undoubtedly was, it was yet questionable whether she had exercised as much direct influence for good as some earnest greengrocer working on behalf of his little conventicle. The power of religion lies in its appeal to the simple emotions deep-set in every human heart, and more accessible in the lower than in the higher grades of society. The weakness of philosophy consists in the fact that in the educated it only appeals to the reason, and to feebler sentiments which in the whirlwind of passion and temptation are unheeded, and that it does not reach even within ken of the ignorant. It is a question as old as Plato, what can effectually replace the dogmas or the restraints of religion; the attractions of love, the repressions of fear, or the mountains of conscience? This question has never been answered.

3. Now indeed modern scientists speak of *Evolution*; which would seem to be the Ariadne clue, guided by which sceptics or speculators pass unbewildered through infinite ages, amidst infinite wonders and among hitherto unsolved mysteries of thought and being. Man, we are told, will evolve until altruistic pleasure is as sensible to him as his own. When that happy time comes perhaps religion may become unnecessary. Christianity indeed also points to such an evolution. But it is the evolution *in Christ Jesus*. Not in this world, but in that to come, when "we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is."

If however we take it in the sense it is spoken of by such speculative philosophers, it need scarcely enter into the region of practical thought. History stretches back many thousand years; and there is no proof that in all that period the human race has evolved in one single degree. The magnificence of Egyptian architecture or the acuteness of its metaphysics, the splendour of Grecian art or the greatness of its literature, these are unsurpassed, if equalled, by those of modern Europe. Are we more courageous than the Roman, acuter than the Greek, more pious than the Israelite, or more self-controlling than the Stoic or ancient recluse? Have we less animal passion, or are we more profoundly moved by good, and more controlled by reason? No. Human nature is much as it was. The most unprejudiced confess that it reached its climax in the perfect man Christ Jesus.

And if a deeper impulse for good now pervades European nations it is all derived from the victim of Jewish priest-craft and Roman state-craft. Muhammadanism can show its warrior fanatics who die for what they hold as truth, and for Paradise; Hinduism has its devotees to whom life is as nothing to the desire after absorption in the Deity; Christianity numbers its willing martyrs by thousands, of those to whom 'to live was Christ, to die was gain.' But what shall we say of a creedless world? It is not merely the world with the motive force of good taken away; with the light taken out of life, and the hope out of death; with a morality pared down to an agnostic standard, or a charity the mainspring of which has been broken. A creedless world is a world of unbridled passions and unholy alliances. A world in which the struggle for existence must be fought to the last; in which the strong will crush the weak, the whole despise the sick, and the rich trample on the poor; until the thunder clouds of anarchy are charged, and the fires of social wrongs and national hatreds are quenched in the blood of thousands.

4. The past connection between an enervated faith and national decay, between atheism and national corruption is indisputable; and at such times the fresh infusion of religious faith has proved the true and only stimulus to give tone to the national heart and pulse, or to resuscitate its mental vigour. But we fail to see any tonic or bracing effects in agnostic morality, that should alter or modify the verdict of history. If pleasure and pain are the true tests of right and wrong, if the laws prevailing in the inanimate or brute creation are to be the foundation of human ethics, if volition is not the mainspring of morality, and the love or fear of God is no

longer to stimulate volition, then must all conscious morality as we now know it in time cease, and the saying of Scripture come to pass, "He that is unrighteous, let him do unrighteousness still, and he that is filthy let him be made filthy still."

If such a time were to come, and the survival of the fittest were to be determined by a struggle for existence carried on in the darkness of agnosticism, unillumined by any star of immortality; waged now in the swift current of trade competition, now in the whirling eddies of passion or of war, now in the morasses of want and disease; if such a time were to come, then woe be to the gentle and merciful, for they shall be pushed aside, woe to the delicate and weak for they shall be trampled under foot, and to the slow for they shall be overtaken. A new Gospel shall then be proclaimed; "Blessed are the strong, for they shall possess the world; and the cunning for they shall inherit its fatness."

But there is no need to anticipate such a time.

In the phenomena of Christianity as exhibited in the life of Christ himself and of all his true followers, we see the proof of a *divine environment*. An environment which makes religion a necessity, and so modifies the struggle for existence, and has modified it, that the Christian creed has prevailed over the wisdom of the world; its unlettered advocates have overcome ancient and modern philosophies, and the history of the Church might be summed up in the words of the Apostle Paul, "when I am weak, then am I strong."

This environment, 'in which we live, and move and have our being,' will secure the victory of the right, just as it makes a 'creedless world' a hideous impossibility. A 'creedless world' there cannot be, unless as 'creedless' we speak of the new Heavens and new Earth which are to come; for there shall creeds melt in the full light of God's Being, and faith shall be lost in sight.

A. Neve.

THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE GENTILE WORLD AS A PREPARATION FOR CHRIST.

Of the early history of the Oriental nations we have little that can be called history, and of that little we owe the greater part to the Bible. It will be proper to speak more at length of the character of that Book of books in connection with the history of the Jews,

Moses has indeed a much higher claim to the title of 'father of history' than Herodotus, not merely on the score of age, but also of the character and evidence of his writings. True, Herodotus travelled to Egypt, and picked up a large amount of interesting information of different kinds, but he is careful again and again to guard his reader against receiving all that he records as authentic, a warning that perhaps was more necessary then than now.

In Manetho, Herodotus, and Hecatœus, the earliest extant classical histories, fact and fable are hopelessly mixed, and while scientific enquiry has in some cases (*e.g.*, in the story of the source of the Nile as given by Herodotus) proved what was once held to be a fable to be a fact, it has more often done the reverse. The vexed question of the Egyptian dynasties cannot be said to be settled, but there is an ever increasing tendency among Egyptologists to reject all belief in the vast cycles and dynasties handed down by tradition, and which lost nothing by coming through the hands of Greeks who referred the beginning of their own literature and civilization to Egypt.

The Biblical references to Oriental nations are only incidental and only in so far as they serve to throw light on the history of the Jews. Yet scientific enquiry so far from upsetting the authenticity of holy writ is ever more and more vindicating its truth, and this in such minute out-of-the-way points as to give additional weight to its authority at large. On this point I must content myself with referring those who wish to pursue the enquiry to the very readable and accessible pamphlets lately published by the Religious Tract Society called "Present Day Tracts." There is one by Professor Rawlinson on the Antiquity of Man and another by Professor Sayce on the Witness of Ancient Monuments, which bear especially on this point. It may without fear of contradiction be asserted that in these incidental allusions of the Bible there is more real *history* than in any other extant writings on Egypt, Babylon, Assyria and Syria, not to speak of nations more ancient still.

The country inhabited by the Jews lay between the empires of Egypt and Assyria, and was liable at any time to be overrun and crushed by their superior power, as indeed it was again and again. Such a position might reasonably seem to be the worst possible for their development, or to fit them to play the part of promoters of a universal religion, such as by the terms of the Divine covenant with Abraham their religion was destined to become. But on the

other hand it was written, "the people shall dwell alone and shall not be reckoned among the nations." The whole course of their history from their deliverance out of the bondage of Egypt was a continued miracle. This special providence of God over them is continually used by their rulers and prophets as an appeal to the people to be faithful to God, and no less as an appeal to God in times of national distress that He would not forsake His own peculiar people (cf. Deut. xix, 5, 6). In his prayer at the dedication of the temple Solomon thus concludes, "For thou didst separate them from among all the people of the earth, to be thine inheritance, as thou spakest by the hand of Moses thy servant, when thou broughtest our fathers out of Egypt, O Lord God."

The excellence of any method of action towards a particular end must be judged by its results. The *whole* history of the Jews, and not any isolated portion of it, the *twofold* end in view, *viz.* their isolation and yet their mission to the Gentiles as the chosen depositary of the true religion, must regulate our judgment on their history. It is abundantly evident from the history of the world that to preserve any one nation from the idolatry which was universal, strenuous measures of more than ordinary force would have to be used so as to isolate them, and special enactments enjoined with the highest sanctions so as to keep them from the prevalent corruption in religion and morals; but in what particular ways this should be brought about or what length of time would be required, or how the difficulty of propagating their pure religion without mixing with the nations and learning their ways could be avoided—"we are," to use the words of Butler, "in no sort judges what are the necessary means of accomplishing this end." The history of the Jews is professedly the history of God's method of doing it. He who was to come, the seed of Abraham, the Anointed One, the Messiah, the Christ, as he is now known among men, was to be "a light to lighten the Gentiles" as well as "the glory of His people Israel." And we now in looking back over the ages can see, what they saw not then, how that "in the fulness of time" God fulfilled this end by the dispersion, disintegration and subjection of that very nation who for this self-same end had for so many generations been miraculously preserved amid the crash of empires in their separate, independent, national integrity.

II. From the East we now pass to the West and touch lightly on the connection of Greek and Roman history with the preparation of the Gospel of Christ. Greece was brought into direct contact

with the East through the Persian invasions under Darius and Xerxes. Though this brought out all the noble *intensity* of the Greek character and to a certain extent promoted a sense of nationality, all the noblest efforts of her patriots failed to produce anything like "solidarity" of interests among the many petty states inhabiting the country we call Greece. It led, however, to a confederacy headed by Athens and to a transient naval empire under Themistocles. Of more importance in its after effects (though unfortunately we have no historian of Macedon to record contemporary history) was the impression left on Macedonia, and that which Athens failed to carry out was more than fulfilled in the Empire of Alexander the Great. In him we have the first union of East and West in a vast empire. Not that he cared to found an empire or consolidate a system of government, otherwise we could not have had the story of his tears. It seemed a psychological impossibility for the Greek mind to entertain such an idea as an *imperial policy.* Alexander shoots athwart the sphere of history like a brilliant meteor and suddenly disappears taking the glory of a conqueror with him. But though, unlike the Roman Augustus who ultimately succeeded to his empire, he had no policy and left none to a successor, the spread of the Greek language in the East and the planting of the Jewish colony in Alexandria by Ptolemy had most important bearings in preparing the way of the Messiah. Consider how jealously the Jews guarded their sacred books, compare the Hebrew and Greek languages as a medium of thought, and you will not fail to appreciate what a crisis in the history of religion, what an immense stride forward was the translation of the Jewish Scriptures into Greek which was promoted, probably only on literary or political grounds, by Ptolemy.

There were thousands of Jews whose only language was Greek scattered about the various countries of the East, and especially in Egypt, called Hellenists, probably in contempt, by the rigid Hebraists, and it was for such primarily that the LXX was made.

This was in itself a mark of progress, of more liberal feeling, of the breaking down of a sacred barrier, of a new departure in the Jewish religion, corresponding very much to the translation of the Vedas in India. Alexandria became a second Athens under widely different conditions. It was the eye of the East, and its philosophy took a special colour, from the attempt to express Hebrew theology in the forms of Greek philosophy, as afterwards an attempt was made to express Christian dogma in the same way.

The Greek of the LXX or the Hellenistic Greek, which, differed in certain definite respects from the classical Greek, was the parent of the Greek of the New Testament. Greek was the *Lingua Franca* of that age, and if the truth embodied in Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms is to be made familiar it must clothe itself in a Greek dress. Here too we see God's hand in providing a medium to promote the knowledge of Christ in the world at large so admirably adapted to its end. Few indeed of the Gentiles would ever care to study the Hebrew, nor indeed were they encouraged so to do by the Jews, who for the most part held fast closed from all the uncircumcized the sacred deposit of their revelation, while on the other hand the theological conceptions, and religious tone of that revelation could not adequately have been expressed in classical Greek. This is dwelt on by Trench in his *Study of Words* where he points out that it was only in Jewish (Hellenistic) Greek that such words as 'idolatry' 'idolater' in respect to false worship, and 'searcher of hearts' in respect to God could find a place. He then shows that the same difficulty recurred in translating these new ideas into Latin, and illustrates by the word σωτήρ—'Saviour,' for which Cicero said there was absolutely no equivalent in Latin, and it remained for Augustine, (A. D. 400) the greatest of the Latin Fathers, to invent the word 'Salvator' to express the Christian idea of the Saviour of mankind. History repeats itself, and Missionaries now tell of the great difficulty they find at times of giving adequate expression to Christian ideas in the various languages of the nations to whom they are sent to proclaim the Gospel of Christ Jesus.

Let us now glance at the Roman Empire. In the prophecy of Daniel there are three visions foreshadowing the future history of the world under four great Empires. The interpretation of the symbols is given. The third and fourth are the Greek and Roman. Under the symbol of the leopard with four wings and four heads we have prefigured the speed and cruelty of Alexander the Great and also the fourfold division of his Empire. Then comes the vision of "the fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it brake in pieces and stamped the residue with the feet of it, it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it." We see here a most striking symbol of the Roman Empire, and it is difficult to imagine that Virgil had not seen or at least heard of this prophecy when he wrote that well-known passage Æn. vi, 848—854.

The glory of Greece was her art and philosophy and science; the glory of Rome was her arms. We have seen that by the Greek Empire the nations were brought under the influence of *one language*, but they were very far from being welded together in *one polity*. This was essentially the work of Rome. It seemed as if nothing could stop her onward march of conquest, and after 250 years of intellectual fermentation and internecine strife it was time for "the leopard" and "the he-goat" of prophecy to yield to the fourth beast with his iron teeth; in other words, it was time for the discordant elements of the so-called Greek Empire of the East to be welded together under the rule and law of the Roman Emperor whether by voluntary surrender or enforced submission. And so we come to Augustus, the *monarch* of the world, in whom, if in any mortal man, that word found its meaning. From the Euphrates to the Atlantic all the nations were under his absolute sway, and for a brief period the gates of the temple of Janus were closed to show that there was universal peace. The Court poets vied with each other in eulogizing their master. The golden age was returning, the earth would produce its fruits without tillage, the venomous serpent and all noxious herbs should die off, and the prince who was to be born should govern a world no longer torn by war.

We seem again to hear echoes of Hebrew prophecy of the Messiah, the prince of peace, whose advent was eagerly expected by the Jews at this time. Never before had the world seen an absolute monarch such as Augustus in reality was. Roman law and order was not a mere name. The meanest citizen could appeal to Cæsar against the highest judge. The Roman citizenship was so valuable that it was often purchased at a great price—'*Civis Romanus sum*' uttered by a prisoner who was being bound or beaten acted like an electric shock. His chains would at once fall off, and his accusers would become his suppliants for fear of the majesty of the offended law which forbad a Roman citizen to be bound or beaten. Roman roads, many of which remain to this day even in England, made access to the very ends of the empire comparatively easy, and so thorough was the system of police and so vast in its extent, that the word had but to be given and the place of exile appointed, and the political offender was dismissed to find his way there unguarded and unattended, for escape beyond the bounds of the Empire was impossible.

It was at a time of profound peace that "there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed." It was

at this crisis of the world's history that a child was born who was indeed to set up a universal and everlasting kingdom, who claimed to be the Messiah, the Christ that was expected to appear at that time—that Prince of whom Daniel had written, to whom all kings should bow, and whose dominion should be an everlasting dominion and his kingdom that which should not be destroyed.

E. NOEL HODGES.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIETY, II.

VI.

In his second Book, M. Huet proceeds to treat of 'spiritual society,' that which unites men through the interests of their minds; and here, he says, religion claims the first place, dealing with man's relations to God and his immortal destiny, without neglecting anything that makes for his power and greatness on earth. Its aim is most sublime, its social benefit immense, it is the most perfect exercise for the faculties of the human mind. When man is in possession of his natural rights his first duty is to defend them in matters of worship. Religious freedom is called freedom of conscience. From it follows, he says, equality of all forms of worship in the eyes of the State, since the State has not the means of deciding to which of rival forms it ought to accord its preference. From it too comes brotherhood in religion, the right, that is, and duty of association for propagating and preaching it, since it gains power from union. *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* (Matt. xviii. 20.)

Right in religion may be summed up as toleration; the result of its absence or violation is theocracy, State-religion, persecutions, the Inquisition, religious wars, and the like. Toleration is no mere dogma of a particular school, but a principle of civil law; to be tolerant it is needful only to repudiate the hideous apostolate of brute force; it is not, as is often argued, intolerance merely to hold firmly an opinion in religion any more than it is in philosophy, geometry, or history; mere scepticism is not the only form of toleration. The corner stone of toleration, he says, is the separation of Church and State. This, he continues, is opposed, first, by those

who wish to make of religion a docile political instrument, and keep it under the thumb of the Magistrate, secondly, by those who in the supposed interests of religion, would put the Church above the State, and subject the civil power to it. The one system is Pagan, the other Jewish. His criticisms of both may be welcomed even by those, who, like the present writer, believe that nothing he says against a national establishment of religion, touches the real grounds on which it is to be advocated. But though the State must not, he says, ally itself with, or prescribe any particular form of faith, this is not to say that it is to be purely indifferent to religion, any more than it is to the press, to commerce, or to industry, although not allied with any particular form of them.

VII.

It is pleasant to turn from this moot matter of religious society to that of intellectual society next broached. After religion, it is pointed out, the soul's true life is found in cultivating the intellect, and developing the affections and will. In the former department the first of wants is education. In whatever character we consider man, as Christian, as citizen, as father, or as worker, enlightenment and instruction are equally necessary to him. Education must therefore cease to be a privilege, and to be confined to childhood; science, literature, art, and above all philosophy, the science of man, must go on with it all through life. And the first of rights is of course freedom of thought, equality of thinkers and their opinions in the eyes of the State coming next; for thought will have its own leaders, it is no part of the duty of the State to discover them, or give its patronage to any particular opinion. Brotherhood comes in to make us impart enlightenment to our fellows, and is the real basis of the freedom of the press and of education. For both of these should depend, he says, not on the patronage of the State, but on the anxiety of those who know, to impart their knowledge to their fellows; this, if left freely to itself, will soon dispense with such factitious support. But the State must interfere to put down libellous or indecent publications, and to see that every child is educated.

He next points out the Christian origin of freedom of thought. It was unknown to the ancient world, and is bound up with the Gospel. The Christian spirit is a spirit of freedom, of knowledge, of inquiry, as much as of love, of devotion, and of brotherhood. Knowledge is glorified, instruction commanded throughout the Scriptures. He refers to the book of Wisdom and to the hundred-

and-nineteenth Psalm, to words of Isaiah, (xi. 9.) and of Jeremiah, (xxxi. 33-34.) but says that the diffusion of enlightenment was not for the old Covenant to accomplish; the slavish discipline of the law had first to be succeeded by the splendid freedom of faith by *the true light, which lighteth every man.* (John i. 9.)

How absurd it is, he cries, that the enemies of Christianity, and its blind advocates, alike oppose faith to reason. The Gospel opposition is of faith to law, to the stifling ceremonialism of Judaism, which fell to pieces when man was brought into the presence of God, and worship became independent of everything material. Reason was thenceforth free, depending only on herself and on God. The change was prodigious, and faith is the new *law of the Spirit of life,* (Rom. viii. 2.) which accompanied it, a law wholly inward, written not on stone tables, but on the heart. Faith is spiritual religion, *reasonable worship,* (Rom. xii. 1,) *the perfect law, the law of liberty.* (Jas. i. 25.) The age of the law was the reign of the senses, of the letter which killeth, the age of faith is the reign of the spirit which giveth life. (2 Cor. iii. 6., Rom. ii. 29., vii. 6.) The law was shut up to the present life, and the goods which perish; faith leaps out across the bounds of material reality, nobly believing in what the senses cannot perceive; it is the victory of the spirit over flesh and blood. *This is the victory that hath overcome the world, even our faith.* (1 John v. 4.) Lastly, the law is Hagar, the old Covenant of bondage, Faith is Sarah, the new Covenant of freedom. (Gal. iv. 22. 31.) He refers also to Gal. iii. 24. 25., and 2 Cor. iii. 13. 18., and specially to St. Paul's denunciation of the foolishness of the Galatians (iii. 1. 3., iv. 7. 9., v. 1. 4. 5. 13.) bewitched into returning to the brutalising practices of Judaism. He points out that faith is the base of all the virtues, not excepting knowledge (2 Pet. i. 5—7); and he quotes at length the glorious prose lyric of the eleventh and twelfth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews, as showing that everything great that was done under the law, can be done also under faith, as it was in fact done by faith.

Faith, is the enthusiasm of reason, "holily revolutionary," victorious over the ignorance and bonds of antiquity. Those who invoke it to suppress reason, and proscribe inquiry, deserve the anathema of the Christ,—*Woe unto you lawyers! for ye took away the key of knowledge; ye entered not in yourselves, and them that were entering in ye hindered.* (Luke xi, 52.) Against such forsworn disciples of incarnate Reason, let us hear the Apostle, bestowing on

all believers not only the right but the duty of inquiry,—*Quench not the spirit......prove all things, hold fast that which is good.* (1 Thess. v. 19. 21.) The *God of Truth,* (Psa. xxxi. 5.) will reject these false prophets, *for that they hated knowledge,* (Prov. i. 29.)

Faith, he continues, impels the Christian towards science and philosophy, keeping the highest faculties of the mind always on the watch, and plunging the reason into the depths of metaphysics, into mystery, which is nothing but the infinitely intelligible. On the other hand, true philosophy is the helper and fellow-worker of faith. It is faith that we need everywhere, in politics and society as much as in religion. We do not trust sufficiently in the right, and are afraid of devoting and sacrificing ourselves for it. We are unable to detach ourselves from the present, where iniquity reigns, to live by anticipation in the coming kingdom of righteousness. Hence the infirmity of our convictions, the softness of our characters, the cowardice of our actions. He longs for our distracted and sickly society, sapped as it is by scepticism and exploited by sophistry, to return to Christianity, the one source of all nobility and all enlightenment.

The Christ designed to renovate science as much as religion and society. But as in the one case Pagan civilisation had first to be rooted out, so in the other had Pagan science, which was for the most part, if we except Plato's, a matter of mere words. Christianity gave an extraordinary impulse to the human mind, reviving Platonism and true philosophy in Plotinus and Augustine. But the same causes which under Constantine stopped the progress of Christianity in society, hindered that of enlightenment, and compelled thought to submit to a long period of preparation, in which Scholasticism by main force confined study to the idea of God. The human mind emerged from this discipline with the fresh vigour of a new youth. But though it made discoveries, they remained sterile until Descartes appeared; Cartesianism was in the world of intellect what the French Revolution was in that of politics, and the work of the one is as yet accomplished as little as that of the other.

VIII.

M. Huet next considers the doctrine of society as connected with the needs of the heart. The duty of universal love, he premises, does not exclude individual affection, while the limitations of language, race, country, occupation, neighbourhood, make it impossible for us not to regard some more than others. In the limited societies so formed, the family holds the first place, itself

made up of three societies, of husband and wife, of parents and children, and of brothers and sisters. Taking up the first he dilates upon what he lays down as its three essentials, love, equality, and perpetuity, contrasting the law of Christianity in these respects with Pagan practise and Communist fancies. Passing to the second, he dwells on the great extent of parental authority; but it does not, he points out, include absolute ownership of children, as of fields or houses. A child, as a human being, is a member of society, entitled to the protection of the State, and possessing a right of its own, that of being educated; if parents neglect their corresponding duty, the State must enforce performance, not, he lays down, by itself teaching, but by seeing that teaching is given properly. Education, he repeats, must be compulsory but not directly by the State. The further right of children to technical instruction, and instruments to work with, he reserves for consideration in the next Book, but protests here against the State rearing orphans itself, since it cannot properly perform the duties of a parent. In the third place, he points out that the society of brothers and sisters is the true model of all society. He claims for every family the right to revere its ancestors, and protests against the feudal idea of allowing them only to the so-called noble. For the spirit of Christianity rejects hereditary nobility, and demands the equality of families in the eyes of the law.

IX.

The third Book treats of 'material society,' that is, society as concerned with the body and with wealth; as spiritual society is the result of man's having a mind, so material society follows from his having a body, and from the earth being assigned to him as a dwelling. Of material society every man is born a member, in that he is placed on the earth to share in the outward conditions which are essential to his full development. This right to live no one but Malthus has dared to deny. It means the right, divine and natural, to occupy the earth for habitation and nourishment, and from it proceed the mutual obligations of all men in respect of the protection of physical life, and the acquisition and use of material wealth.

He first treats of the rights of the body. Every man as a thinking being, must first have outward freedom, the control of his body, and independent use of the powers of nature, including the right to work, the right of coming and going, the right to an inviolable home; secondly, he must have equality before the law, in matters of

life and limb, be he able or cripple, noble or churl; and, thirdly, the forces thus protected by freedom and equality, are to be animated and combined by brotherhood. Each unit of society is entitled to be defended by the efforts of all, whether in the organised form of the public forces, or, in case of emergency, by any one at hand. But the rights of the body do not exist for madmen and criminals, in whom the physical in the man has overwhelmed the spiritual, and made him injurious to his fellows. Similar considerations justify war in the last resort, and the infliction of capital punishment.

Christianity, he contends, teaches the same. Its glory is to have shaken the empire of brute force, discredited war and torture, and spread abroad religious respect for human life. Its law is the law of grace and love, not abolishing justice, but mingling love with it; mercy is to supersede it whenever consistent with order and the good of the guilty party. The Christian is always to incline to peace and pardon, even as God, the sovereign father, makes the sun rise on the evil and the good. So the divine Master taught,—*Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall impress thee to go one mile, go with him twain.* (Matt. v. 38—41.) No self-denial is to be refused upon which the good of a brother man depends. There are however differences of times and persons; if the common weal demand it, the Christian is to insist on justice being done him. The Christ's words are to be understood in the spirit, not in the letter, and in the light of His own and His disciples' conduct. When He was smitten on the cheek, He did not turn the other but rebuked the smiter. Neither did St. Paul, but cried, *God shall smite thee, thou whited wall; and sittest thou to judge me according to the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?* (Acts xxiii. 3.) So at Philippi he had insisted upon ample apology for the outrage done to his rights as a citizen. The Christian is to devote himself to his brethren, but not so as to be unresisting before injustice; he is to be man and citizen as well as Christian; he is not to be a mystic abandoning all care of body and life, and despising all earthly good.

X.

He then proceeds to discuss wealth. Man, he begins by laying

it down, has to aim at a twofold perfection of mind and body, depending on the possession of certain things which he wants or desires. These things constitute wealth, and their capacity for satisfying our wants and desires is utility. Misery, poverty, mediocrity, riches are the different states of man in respect of wealth, whether material or spiritual. In practice such things as air and light are excluded from wealth, which is confined to what it is necessary to work for. Value is the comparative utility of things. Economy is the science which measures the utility of wealth, the science of value.

He takes exception to the name 'political' economy, contending that the neglect of individual economy has greatly misled the students and professors of the science. A still graver evil he discovers in its disconnexion from morality, which he ascribes to its birth in the last century. For morality is the science of spiritual, as economy of material perfection and value, and they can no more be separated than can the body and soul. For instance, it is of no use to understand the law of demand and supply, if it be not understood in what conditions alone demand and supply are regular and legitimate, that is, which are true wants, and which false.

Material wealth has a spiritual value also when it helps the mind, and spiritual wealth has a double utility when it also furthers the well-being of the body. But spiritual value is always superior to material. Thus religion and philosophy are not less valuable in themselves than because the vigour they give to thought issues in new inventions and discoveries for the use of the body. But the value of the progress of invention lies much more in its tendency to set men free from bodily drudgery to pursue the things of the mind than in its material usefulness. Again, the body has often to give way to the mind, the two not being yet balanced, and the highest bodily good not being conducive to mental well-being. In antiquity, for example in early Rome, poverty was the state of man as to wealth which was most favourable to spiritual well-being, and Christianity proclaimed it as a duty and a virtue, in order to reclaim man from the rule of sensuality. It has now so far succeeded in this that we may take a step onwards, and see in the intermediate state of mediocrity, the ideal of bodily well-being to be aimed at in the immediate future.

Continuing the subject he contends that nature furnishes wealth previously to and independently of labour. To such wealth he gives the name of natural stock, (*avances naturelles*), and he main-

tains—finding herein a confirmation of the widespread story of a paradise or golden age—that the condition of modern savages shows that primitive man was no savage, while the earth he inhabited was more fertile than now, or he would never have progressed beyond savagery. Labour by the aid of this natural stock, besides supporting itself, creates capital or acquired stock by saving.

On this basis he protests against the exclusive attention which economical science has given to labour, and maintains that it should first have been given to the ownership and distribution of property. He contends that labour is not the prime source of value, anyhow not its only source, nor its true measure, and argues very earnestly that what produces mental wealth is as true labour, as that which produces material wealth, and is equally deserving of remuneration. He discusses also the question of making labour attractive, which he says is, though a possible ideal, not one to be looked for at present, any more than we are, merely on the ground that man is destined to immortality, at present to seek a remedy for death. Here again, he says, the ideal of the immediate future is mediocrity, that unhealthy employments be suppressed, all labour be lessened and made more gainful, that workers as far as possible be employed according to their natural aptitudes, above all, that no bodily occupation crush the life of the soul, or fetter the exercise of nobler faculties.

He proceeds to point out the agreement of Christianity with these principles. In the account of Adam in Eden he sees confirmed his conclusion that primitive man was no savage, but with the aid of the natural stock provided for him, was able to enter upon free and attractive labour. When he turned from God, the earth became refractory, labour painful. *Cursed is the ground for thy sake...... in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread......dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.* (Gen. iii. 17. 19.) But deliverance was even then promised, and with that promise began Christianity, whose aim is the restoration of the whole human nature. The union of heavenly and earthly wealth so strongly marked at the beginning makes it impossible to conceive any restoration of man in which the body should not share in the soul's redemption. And so, in the Christian records, although the health of the soul and spiritual wealth hold the first place in the work of redemption, the body is never forgotten or despised, still less disavowed, while material wealth always has its place in the promises, in the cares, in the prayers of the Church.

Since labour still retains something of its pristine nobility even in fallen man, poverty, though the fit punishment of idolatry, was not to be his normal state. The words of Agur the son of Jakeh are at this day in full accordance with the commands of economy and social righteousness,—*Give me neither poverty nor riches ; Feed me with the food that is needful for me ; Lest I be full, and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? Or lest I be poor and steal and use profanely the name of my God.* (Prov. xxx. 8. 9.) The Christ praised poverty but it was that of the spirit and truth, voluntarily embraced as a matter of sacrifice, apostleship, and martyrdom. It was intended to be embraced by the few as the means of leading regenerate mankind into ease and general wealth. How would the Gospel have been good news for the poor, how would the promises of old time have been fulfilled, if the Christ had only brought them a prolongation of their poverty, an eternity of wretchedness and tears. No,—the old man of the flesh and pride, of Pagan and aristocratic wealth, had to be rooted out by poverty, but only that in his place might flourish the new man of the spirit and brotherhood, of wealth Christian and democratic. The Christ used poverty to raise mankind to true wealth, just as Socrates ignorance to lead them to knowledge, and Descartes doubt to lead them to certainty. He had no more intention of perpetuating poverty than they ignorance and scepticism. Even when He was preparing His disciples for persecution, for suffering and death, He warned them against an exaggerated contempt of earthly wealth. He scouted the gross desire of the Pagan and the Jew for sensual wealth and enjoyment, but He taught His own in His prayer to ask for daily bread as well as spiritual wealth. *Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye first His kingdom, and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.* (Matt. vi. 32. 33.) The divine economist did not teach contempt for material riches and happiness, but that the wealth of the mind, knowledge, love, virtue, is the true and most fertile source of them, and above all that the interests of the body must never be allowed to weigh against those of the mind, but all earthly treasures, and even life itself should be sacrificed at the call of truth and righteousness. So St. Paul, *Godliness with contentment is great gain . . . . . But they that desire to be rich fall into a temptation and a snare and many foolish and hurtful lusts, such as drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is a root of all kinds of evil.* (1 Tim. vi. 6. 9. 10.) But in treating of abstinence St. Paul carefully

abstains from condemning the lawful use of material wealth, *Let no man judge you in meat or in drink . . . .* (saying to you) *Handle not, nor taste, nor touch . . . . Which things have indeed a show of wisdom in will worship, and humility, and severity to the body ; but are not of any value against the indulgence of the flesh.* (Col. ii. 16 21. 23.)

It has been too little borne in mind that the Saviour always united the curing of disease with the ministry of the word, and bade his Apostles do the same, as also they did. *Jesus went about in all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of disease and all manner of sickness among the people.* (Matt. iv. 23.)..........*And he called the twelve together, and gave them power and authority over all devils, and to cure diseases. And he sent them forth to preach the kingdom of God, and to heal the sick.* (Luke ix. 1. 2.)...........*Believers were the more added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and women ; insomuch that they even carried out the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that, as Peter came by, at the least his shadow might overshadow some one of them. And there also came together the multitude from the cities round about Jerusalem, bringing sick folk, and them that were vexed with unclean spirits : and they were healed every one.* (Acts. v. 14—16.) It is wonderful that in the face of this clear evidence, it should be asserted that Christianity dogmatically proscribes the flesh and material wealth. But so it is, and by dint of repetition, the assertion has even become a commonplace. And again Christianity has been falsely charged with opposing as irreligious, as contrary to the designs of God, all efforts for man's industrial redemption. But in fact, Christianity looks forward to relieving man from the pain of labour when he shall be fit for it. Meanwhile, *if any will not work, neither let him eat.* (2 Thess. iii. 10.)

But Christianity does not stop at raising labour to the dignity of a duty, and maintaining its proper place and importance for material wealth. It carries our hopes for the future further even than we could dare. The Christ *came not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil,* (Matt. v. 17.) and they tell of nothing more clearly, more markedly, than of the future universal spread of earthly blessings, and the complete physical and industrial redemption of man. *There shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch out of his roots shall bear fruit : and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding,*

the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord....... With righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth.........And the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.........They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. (Isa. xi. 1. 2. 4. 6. 9, see also xxx. 21—26.) ....*Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field. The work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and confidence for ever. And my people shall abide in a peaceable habitation, and in sure dwellings, and in quiet resting places.* (xxxii. 17. 18.)......... *Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge between nations; and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plow-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.* (ii. 3. 4.) So Jeremiah, of the days when the Lord shall make "a new covenant,"—*They shall come and sing in the height of Zion, and shall flow together unto the goodness of the Lord, to the corn, and to the wine, and to the oil, and to the young of the flock and of the herd: and their soul shall be as a watered garden; and they shall not sorrow any more at all Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, and the young men and the old together......and my people shall be satisfied with my goodness.* (Jer. xxxi. 12—14.) So the Psalmist recounts not only the might upon earth of the righteous, but that *wealth and riches are in his house,* (Psa. cxii. 3.) and Daniel (vii. 22. 27.) foresees the reign of the saints over the enfranchised universe. The Christ Himself promises the inheritance of the earth to the meek, (Matt. v. 5,) and to his disciples temporal as well as eternal wealth, (Mark x. 29. 30. Luke xviii. 29. 30,) and the thousand years' reign of the Apocalypse, however we may explain it, can mean nothing else than the perfect accomplishment of the temporal and social dominion of Christianity. The Jews went astray in looking for purely temporal benefits from the prophesied coming of the Messiah. But in avoiding their error, we must not run into that of a merely allegorical interpretation. The true interpretation is temporal, but other than the Jews looked for; the Messiah will not subject the nations to them, but to His law of which they were the type.

C. E. G. Crawford.

THE BURIED CITY OF BRAHMANABAD.

(Substance of a lecture delivered at the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute, Bombay.)

I do not desire in this paper to put myself forward as an original explorer of some lost city. I cannot lay claim to that character at all; and must explain, at the outset, that my object is rather to draw attention to the researches of others, and especially to the discoveries of the late Mr. Bellasis of the Bombay Civil Service, and Mr. Richardson, Deputy Collector in Sind. But though my own contributions to the knowledge we possess on the subject are of the most meagre kind, I hope to show, to the satisfaction of my readers, that the subject itself is of great interest, not only for its novelty, or for the startling contrasts it suggests but also for reasons which will readily commend themselves to the student of history and archæology.

The subject was suggested to me by a journey I made early last year in the districts to the North and East of Hyderabad in Sind. I had then an opportunity of inspecting the ruins of the vast and ancient city which had been visited and described by Mr. Bellasis and Mr. Richardson many years before; but which, since their time, has not, I believe, been officially explored by any competent archæologists under the Government of India, and is very little known to the public generally. Those ruins are situated near the dry bed of a river, which is supposed to have been one of the old courses of the river Indus, which now, however, flows many miles to the West of Brahmanabad. The country in the immediate vicinity of the ruins is now, for the greater part of the year, a dry and parched land, very different in its aspect from what it must have been before the fertilizing waters of the great river were diverted from their course and sudden ruin overtook the dwellers in that great city. Strikingly in contrast too with all that now surrounds us in the busy centres of modern life, with their perpetual whirl of business and pleasure, their railways and tram cars, their crowded streets and gardens, is that silent city of the dead, with all its battlements and towers laid low, all save one single turret, which still remains standing, as the historian is careful to tell us, "as an example," and its palaces and houses shapeless heaps of brick and sand, the home of the owl and the bat, the jackal and the hyæna. There must

have been pleasant gardens once in that city, near the river's banks; but, within the boundary of the city walls, these are represented now only by scrub, and briar and thorn,—the vegetation of the desert,—the *kirar* or leafless caper, the spiked acacia, and the camel thorn, with a sprinkling of *khabar* and *kandi* trees, better known to the botanist as *Salvadora* and *Prosopis*. The only pleasant place in the midst of all that desolation is the Fakir Jamal's garden, in the old river bed, where he has made trees to grow and bloom and yield fruit where none grew before, and has literally made a corner of the desert to blossom as the rose. There he passes a secluded but happy life, occupied much with memories of the past, but ever ready to guide the tourist over the ruins of the city and tell him all he knows about them; and a most intelligent and cheerful guide I found him to be. If he has one concern connected with the present and with secular matters, it is that the assessment on his little garden should be reduced. I could not gratify his wish myself, but trust that some day it may be gratified by the Revenue authorities, in consideration of the good work done by him.

Now there can be no sort of doubt that this place, now so forlorn and desolate, was once a prosperous city. If it is indeed the Brahmanabad, mentioned so often in the histories of the Arab conquest of Sind, then it was once the capital of Southern Sind. It was the seat, or one of the seats, of more than one dynasty of Hindu kings. The first of these—or at least the first of whom we have any authentic account—was the good King Sahiras, whose dominion extended from Multan to the Mekrani coast; during whose time there was no disaffected person in the kingdom. But the best known of them was Chach, the Brahman who usurped the throne and married the wife of his predecessor, and whose history bears a resemblance in some points to that of Joseph in Egypt. It was the dwelling place of thriving communities, still represented in modern Sind, as the Lohanas and Sammas, the most prominent of them having been the brotherhood of the so-called Brahmans, who were really Buddhist priests, who constituted the official class and are now represented by the modern Amils. It was one of a series of three cities, all lying near each other and all closely connected in interests, and all now in ruins. The first of these, according to Mr. Bellasis, was Dalora, where king Dalurai lived with his courtiers. The second was Depur, where the Prime Minister transacted business with the chief officers of the state. The third and the largest of the three is shown on our maps, and is believed by Mr.

Bellasis, to have been the famous Brahmanabad. It was the city of the merchants and traders. It was a large and populous city and contained a fort of 1,400 bastions. Its present circumference was found by Mr. Bellasis to be within a few yards of four miles. And between the three cities there were suburbs, the ruins of which extend for miles into the open country.

Mr. Bellasis, by no means an imaginative writer but a practical officer, to whom the people of Sind and of Bombay will ever be under a deep obligation for many works of public utility which they owe to his energy and public spirit, has given the following description of the present appearance and the former glories of Brahmanabad :—

"On first entering Brahmanabad, so extensive so complete are its ruins, you feel lost in contemplating its utter desolation; and it takes some time before the eye becomes accustomed to the confusion and disorder that characterise the place. After a little examination, the most prominent object that presents itself is the ruin of a high tower of brickwork standing isolated on a large heap of ruins, clearly indicating its former extent and importance. This may have been the citadel, or one of those circular towers such as are seen in Sind to this day in the forts of Hyderabad and Umarkot.

"Amid the chaos of ruins you may further observe several open spaces or squares, evidently the bazars and market-places of the city. Some of these are of great extent, running through the fort. A little imagination; and you might picture to yourself that here were barracks for troops; that in this open space they were wont to hold their parades; that this was the exchange of the moneylender; this the river gate of the city, where customs were levied. Again, it were easy to imagine the noble Indus gliding in a mighty stream past the city walls, her waters studded, as at present, with many a boat, and many a quaint-cut sail, and many a *pala* fisherman, giving perspective to the landscape. It were easier still to picture along the banks of the river, and immediately under the city walls, the busy haunts of trade: here you might say with certainty were the native craft moored to the bank; here piles of goods and merchandise were often heaped; and there, too, you might safely say were crowds of noisy, money-making Hindus, chattering, bartering, and wrangling after the most approved fashion of modern times."

When an artist of sober judgment paints a glowing picture like that, we may assume that the reality was not very different from the picture.

Whether this commercial city was really the Brahmanabad of the historians, is a difficult question which cannot be said to have been yet settled. In his admirable history of India, Sir Henry Elliot is at great pains to show that Brahmanabad was identical with the Mansurah of the Arab chroniclers and geographers. Mansurah was one of four cities built in the reign of Al Mansur of the

Abbaside Family, and called after his name (the "Victorious") in the hope that they might stand for ever. One of these cities was Bagdad, another was in Mesopotamia, a third 'Al Masisa' in the Mediterranean. If Mansurah is identical with Hyderabad, and Brahmanabad with Mansurah, then of course the ruins visited by Mr. Bellasis are not the ruins of Brahmanabad, for those ruins are many miles distant from the modern Hyderabad. There is this, however, to be noted that, when Sir Henry Elliot wrote his history, Mr. Bellasis had not published his discoveries to the world; and it is highly probable that those discoveries would have materially affected the conclusions arrived at by Sir H. Elliot. The question at issue is one which I will not attempt to discuss at present. It will be sufficient if we assume that Mr. Bellasis and our modern maps are right, and that the ruins visited by him are indeed the ruins of the Brahmanabad of history.

My object then, is to adduce such information as is available regarding these ruins and what lies beneath them, and then to consider the various conjectures that have been formed as to the dire physical catastrophe of which the ruins have remained for centuries the silent witness; and lastly, to invite attention to some of the events or traditions, connected with the last days of Brahmanabad, while it was yet a city of the living.

My own visit to the ruins was necessarily a hurried one. An official tour, for the purpose of inspecting civil and criminal Courts, allowed only a day or two at Brahmanabad, and I therefore contented myself with only a general survey of the ruins. In this absence of opportunity for local research, I shall not apologize for quoting largely from the accounts which Mr. Bellasis has left on record of his own and Mr. Richardson's labours. He visited the city on four different occasions and had ample opportunities of carefully examining a portion of the ruins; and his narrative is full of interest and instruction. His first visit, in company with Mr. Richardson, was in 1854; and this is his account of it:—

"A few officers had previously visited, at different times, these ruins, and had collected some coins and other curiosities, which are readily found on the surface, and many others had been obtained from villagers, who are in the habit of digging in the ruins for bricks, and thus find a variety of beads stones, and coins, but no person had ever attempted systematically to excavate. Mr. Richardson and I were therefore resolved to devote two or three days to Brahmanabad, and to endeavour, by carefully removing one of the heaps of rubbish, to disclose any remnants of a house that might have been concealed therein for centuries.

"We selected for excavation a heap of ruins standing on the verge of the principal bazaar or square. We had not commenced many minutes before we came upon the edge of a wall; clearing it, we soon came upon a cross wall, and then upon another, and another, until a house with a variety of rooms began fast to take shape, and disclose its proportions. We had not dug two feet before we came to quantities of bones, and at that, and greater depths, skeletons were so numerous that it was hardly possible to dig a *paura* full of earth without bringing up particles of bones. As far as I could judge, many were undeniably human bones, and others those of cattle and of horses. The human bones were chiefly found in doorways, as if the people had been attempting to escape, and others in the corners of the rooms. Many of the skeletons were in a sufficiently perfect state to show the position the body had assumed; some were upright, some recumbent, with their faces down, and some crouched in a sitting posture. One, in particular, I remember finding in a doorway. The man had evidently been rushing out of his house, when a mass of brick, work had, in its fall, crushed him to the ground, and there his bones were lying extended full length, and the face downwards. These bones, on exposure to the atmosphere, mostly crumbled to dust, and it was very difficult to obtain anything but fragments. But in excavating, you often obtain a good section of the skeleton, and thereby can easily tell the position of the body.

"Besides bones, I found large quantities of pottery in great varieties, and much of a very superior description to any I see now-a-days in Sindh. A good deal of the pottery was glazed in colours of great brilliancy, and some of the vessels are of a fine kind of earthenware or china. Pieces of glass and crystal were also found, both in the excavations and on the surface of the ruins, in quantities, and the glass of all kinds of colours. Fragments of cups, bottles, and platters were very numerous. Some of the glass was beautifully stained of a deep blue colour, and other portions were worked in raised and ribbed patterns, displaying a high standard of art in their manufacture. Stones for grinding grain; others for grinding curry-stuff, and some for mixing paints; several stones for sharpening knives, and tools; numerous large pieces of korundum or emery, also used by cutlers to sharpen swords and instruments; quantities of cornelians and cornelian chips, and agates, and other pretty stones; balls, beautifully turned, of ivory, agate, and marble; coins, chiefly of copper, some few of silver; beads and ornaments of cornelian and glass, in every variety. In one of the rooms I found a large grain jar, ribbed in circles; its mouth was arched over with brickwork. I at first took it for a well, but afterwards discovered it to be a sunken grain jar. The diameter of its mouth was two feet, and inside it was empty for four feet, the botton portion being filled with mould, possibly the decomposed remains of the grain.

"The city must have been famed, like the present cities of Ahmadabad, and Kambay in Gujarat, for its works in cornelians and agates, and it is probably that it was from that province that trade was carried on for these stones. There are no cornelians of the kind found indigenous in the alluvial plain around Brahmanabad, and the mines of Kapatbanj in Gujarat are probably the nearest place from which they could have been imported. From the quantity of cornelians, chips, &c., besides grinding and sharpening stones,

found in the excavations, I am led to conclude that the house excavated must have been inhabited by a lapidary.

"Among the copper coins are many of liliputian size—so small that their value in the present day would hardly be calculable.

* * *

"Among the curiosities found at Brahmanabad, showing an advanced state of art, are some beautiful engravings on cornelians and agate. Many of them are perfect gems of art, and, like the intaglios of Rome, are polished on the inside of the device—an art, I believe now lost. Some that were found had upon them a bull and others a lion; some merely a name in Arabic, and some in characters resembling the Devanagri or Sanskrit: most of these appeared cut in ovals and circles, and would be well suited for the purpose of a signet ring; others were ready cut into these shapes, but without any inscription or device, as if the engraver kept an assortment for the choice of his customers, who had only to express their wish—what device what name,—and the hand of the cunning artist was prepared to make any engraving ordered.

"Among the glass discovered were several pieces in a state of decomposition, some with all the beautiful metallic colours of the soap bubble, some that had become quite opaque, and other pieces with both sides in the last stages of decay, and only a thin fibre of glass in the centre.

"Finding glass in this decomposed state is testimony of the antiquity of Brahmanabad; if other evidence be wanting, we have it in the decomposed state of the bones. These bones I have shown to several medical men, and they are all agreed that they are of great antiquity. Dr. Beatty in particular, when he examined a skull and several other bones, told me that he did not recollect to have seen bones in any museum apparently of such great age; that all the animal matter in the cellular cavities of the bones was completely exhausted, and that such a process of decay would take centuries of time so completely to effect.

"Of the bones found, many were unquestionably human; others the bones of camels, horses, oxen, dogs and fowls. In one of the rooms excavated, among a number of bones we came upon a quantity of stuff that looked very like ashes, but which I believe to be the remains of smaller bones, whether of men or animals, reduced to dust. A bushel of it might have been collected, and there are two bottles full of it among my collection from Brahmanabad. Many of the teeth found are curious, and show the signs of great antiquity: the enamel on some is pretty perfect, but is very liable to peel off with the slightest pressure.

"A variety of women's bangles or bracelets were also found; some of glass, others of brass and copper, and a number of ivory, worked over in patterns.

"Among the collection are two round solid balls of pottery, the use of which it is difficult to imagine. The most probable supposition is that they were used as missiles and may have been employed by the defenders of the city against an invading force.

"The most curious relic I found was a hexagonal cylinder, of what I imagined to be wood, or perhaps ivory, with an inscription in Arabic in Kufic characters on each side. It is three inches in length, and two and three quarters in circumference."

In the above passage Mr. Bellasis speaks of some of the skeletons seen by him as having been in a sitting posture. I may here mention that a story is still told at Brahmanabad of the discovery of a skeleton, among the ruins, of a woman sitting at a spinning wheel; who must have been engaged in spinning at the moment when she was buried alive.

The following is the account which Mr. Bellasis gives of his second visit:—

"On the occasion of our second visit, we selected for excavation a heap of ruins adjoining the site of the house first excavated, and standing on the verge of the bazaar. The house was built of burnt brick, and the rooms of similar construction to those before described. Among the first things of interest found were some very curiously carved stone slabs, raised about five inches from the ground, on four feet. They were carved out of a solid block of stone, but, with one exception, were all more or less broken into pieces by the weight of the walls that have fallen upon them. I was, however successful in finding all the pieces of some of them, so that the whole could be put together. They varied in size from two to two and a half feet square.

"The most beautiful was one of red sandstone, similar to that now found at Porbandar in Kachh. The slab is square, with a large circular space in the centre, the corner pieces being ornamented with peacocks and snakes. This circular space is slightly depressed, for the retention of water, and on one of the sides of the slab is a bull's head, with the water escape passing through the bull's mouth. In this specimen the four corner feet were panelled, and exquisitely carved with bas-relief figures, two on each foot. Two feet were wanting, but on the two found the figures were, a lion on one panel, and on the other a warrior armed with sword and shield. On the other foot are two female figures, one playing the sarindah, a kind of guitar still in use. The other female appears to be admiring herself in a looking-glass, which she holds in one hand, while with the other she is dressing her hair. These feet are connected with each other by a cornice of open tracery of great beauty, running along the sides of the slab, and the whole forming a beautiful specimen of carving.

"The figures, and all the emblems and ornaments used, are Hindu, such as are seen on old Jain temples. One remarkable fact is that the figures carved on this slab are quite perfect, and have not been mutilated by any iconoclast.

"I found many other slabs of the same kind, but none so richly carved; they were all found buried very deep in the ruins, and near the lower floors. Their use was evidently connected with religious worship. They may have been probably used by the Hindus of Brahmanabad to place their idols upon, and to perform the ceremonies of their ablutions; but, strange to say, although I made careful search, I found no idol. It has been suggested that these idols were their household gods, their Penates, and these would be the very first things the inhabitants would endeavour to save.

"Among many other curious articles found, four lumps of clay, with the proof impressions of a number of seals, deserve mention. The seal engraver, to whom these belonged, was evidently in the habit of keeping proofs of all

the seals he engraved and sold, by taking their impressions in these lumps of fine clay. The characters and devices of the seals were quite fresh on the impressions, and there are as many as fifteen to twenty impressions on each lump of clay."

On the third occasion that Mr. Bellasis visited Brahmanabad with Mr. Richardson, they excavated a house in the same bazar, and were richly rewarded, by finding some beautifully carved figures in ivory.

"The largest," writes Mr. Bellasis, "is about four inches long—a female standing figure, with a lotus in one hand. Many of the other figures appear to be dancing-girls; the female with looking-glass, on the slab above described, is again to be recognised, and also another warrior; an elephant, fully caparisoned, and others; in all about fifteen figures. These also were in no way defaced by the hand of the iconoclast. From the manner in which they were found, all close together, I conclude that they were portions of a richly-carved ivory box; some appeared injured by fire. The ivory is much decomposed, and is very brittle, and, with pressure between the fingers, may be reduced to powder.

"In this same house we were further repaid by finding nearly a complete set of ivory chessmen, one set white, the other black. The kings and queens are about three inches high, and the pawns about one: the other pieces of different intermediate heights. All have been made for use on a board with holes, for each piece has a peg in it, similar to chessmen used now-a-days on board ship, to prevent the pieces being easily knocked down, and the game disturbed. The ivory of these too is in a very decayed state, and very brittle; every particle of animal matter seemed completely exhausted, and the ivory reduced to a substance not unlike lime or chalk. Dice were also found: some square cubes of ivory, numbered exactly as dice used at the present day; others the long dice, used by the natives to play the game of Panchweshi. The discovery of these chessmen is a curious fact: they are probably the oldest known set in existence, and tend to confirm Sir William Jones's assertion that chess was a game of Brahminical origin.

"We also found the remains of an inlaid tortoise-shell or ebony box. I at first thought it was the chess-board, as it was found in the same house as the chessmen, although in a different room: but I could find none of its numerous pieces with a hole fitting the pegs of the chessmen. It had been an elaborate piece of inlaid workmanship. Some of the fragments are circular, others oblong, others triangular; some with a border pattern out upon them, others with open carved work: and I think a careful examination of the pieces will show that the box was in ivory, ebony, and tortoiseshell, and perhaps with other materials.

* * * * *

"Pottery, glass, glazed ware, &c., were found in great variety and abundance, as described in my first paper on Brahmanabad: also copper coins, cornelian chips; onyxes, agates, beads, women's bangles of glass, of ivory, and of brass. Bones and teeth, both of men and of animals, were abundant in every house. In one was found the head of a rat: in others, the bones of

fowls; and the teeth of camels, oxen, and horses were very common. Beyond a few engraved seals, I found nothing with any inscriptions."

On his fourth visit, Mr. Bellasis selected for exploration a very large mound of ruins, near the standing tower, supposed to be a part of King Dalurai's palace; but nothing of special interest was found. Mr. Bellasis writes :—

"I do not think we excavated sufficiently deep to reach the foundation. The walls of this house were far more substantially built, and the apartments of larger dimensions. Some of the walls, three and four feet in thickness, were to be seen thrown out of the prependicular, as if by the rude shock of an earthquake. In this building more lime than usual was found, and the face of one wall had been plastered with it.

"On my last visit to Brahmanabad, I made inquiry of an old cultivator if he had ever seen any of the round solid balls of pottery mentioned in my first paper. 'Saheb' rejoined the old man, 'come to the Toph Khana (arsenal), and I will show you plenty.' I followed his guidance, and he led me outside the city walls and across the dry bed of the river, and there, in the plain, sure enough, were a number of these pottery balls. I could distinctly see the square heaps, in which they had been piled in regular rows like round shot; and, scattered over the plain, numbers of single ones were to be found, slightly embedded in the soil. They were of various sizes, some as large as 12-pounders, others about the size of billiard balls. The old man accounted for there being so many scattered about the plain by saying that in ancient times a great battle had been fought on that spot. The smaller balls might have been used in a sling, but the larger ones would have required some engine like the balista to propel them."

I also discovered, though not without difficulty, the site of this arsenal or battle field, whichever it was. The description given by Mr. Bellasis of balls of varying sizes scattered all over the plain or field, some in regular heaps, is still correct. There must have been many thousands of such balls. It is strange to think that these fragile *balista* balls should have remained unbroken for so many centuries. It was stranger still to find on the same battle-field a human skeleton, the greater part of which had been buried in a masonry grave. A part of the skull was, however, exposed: and though it must have been exposed for centuries, it was in a remarkable state of preservation. The skull bore marks of extreme age, and was of a pale coffee colour. A slight blow would at any time have shattered it; but there it was, after the lapse of ages, as uninjured, except by time, as if it had been preserved in a glass case in a Museum.

It is clear from the passages that I have quoted from the papers left by Mr. Bellasis, that the destruction of Brahmanabad could not have been a gradual process. His excavations were certainly confined to a very limited area; but such as they were, they sufficiently

indicated a sudden catastrophe, overwhelming the dwellers of the city in a very short space of time. Little, if anything, has been done, as I have already said, in exploring the vast area of ruins since his time. Further researches would probably yield further indications as to the precise nature of the catastrophe; but as to its suddenness and completeness there can never be any question. On this point again I will quote from the writings of Mr. Bellasis :—

"I was as first of opinion that Brahmanabad had been destroyed by an invading army, who had pillaged the city and slain the inhabitants, and that time and decay had made it a heap of ruins. Old Badin, in Lower Sind, is an instance of this kind: there you see heaps of ruins not unlike those of Brahmanabad, but in the midst of the ruins you also see several buildings, such as mosques and temples, whose walls were too strong for the hand of man to overthrow, and upon whose strength time and slow decay alone make any impression. At Brahmanabad the ruin of the city seems to have been complete and, with the exception of the fragment of the tower before described, nothing appears to have escaped utter destruction. This fact, added to the number of persons whose bones were found inside the houses, together with the quantities of coins and valuables that are to this day in Brahmanabad, shook my belief that an invading army had destroyed the city.

"Nor do I believe that the city was destroyed by fire. The walls had not the appearance of a conflagration. The many delicate articles everywhere to be found in Brahmanabad, in a general conflagration of the city, must have been consumed; the glass, for instance, and the delicate ornaments of the women would have been destroyed, or borne the marks of fire, whereas nothing of the kind is discernible. The marks of fire were alone found on a few cooking-pots, and charcoal was also discovered near the flooring of the rooms, not in any quantity, but as much as it might be expected the occupants of such houses would be likely to have for cooking purposes. The charcoal was, as fresh as if made yesterday.

"Mr. Richardson on this point observes: 'We found no remains of wood, which might have been used in the construction of the buildings; and, save on the floors, and there only in small quantities, no charcoal or remains of burnt wood, so we may fairly conclude the city was not burnt. Neither do the old walls we have excavated bear the evidence of having been under the action of fire. A few old iron nails were found, but quite decomposed, retaining nothing but the form of a large spike nail. The almost entire absence of chunam seems strange, it being so generally largely used by natives in the construction of their more substantial buildings. There is, however, no limestone to be found within forty miles of the place, and this may account for the want of it.'

"Under all these circumstances, I think it highly probable that the popular account that Brahmanabad was destroyed by an earthquake is true. It must have been some such convulsion of nature to have effected the complete and utter destruction of a city so strongly built as Brahmanabad: and I further think it probable that the same convulsion that shook the city to its very

foundation changed the course of the river which once, without doubt, washed the city walls."

Both Mr. Bellasis and Mr. Richardson rejected the theory that the destruction of Brahmanabad was due to a besieging army, which had set fire to the city. Both these competent authorities give strong reasons for holding that the city was destroyed by an earthquake, and Mr. Bellasis says that this was the popular belief. There is however a different local account of its destruction which is well worthy of consideration, *viz.*, that it was due to a sandstorm of unusual violence. This account was given by the old faquir, Jamal, to my friend, Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, of the Bombay Civil Service, who accompanied me on my tour. Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, who is a competent archæologist, has made a study of the legends connected with the destruction of Brahmanabad, and thinks that there is good ground for sharing the old faquir's belief. Sandstorms are prevalent in the district; and when they have sufficient material to work upon, they choke the lower strata of the air with clouds of sand, which blot out the sun for days from the sight of men and beasts, causing a darkness which may be felt, and filling the hearts of all with dismay and discomfort. Ample material for the destruction of a whole city is found not far from Brahmanabad, near the little village of Dalur, which is overhung by a stupendous sand hill, which could be readily set in motion (so it seemed to us) by a prolonged and violent gale of wind. The villagers lived in daily dread of some disaster from the close proximity of such a mass of moving sand. Visitors to Karachi will have noticed similar moving sandhills near the sea beach at Clifton. An old and experienced officer of Engineers, who had long lived in Sind, always regarded these hills as an abiding menace to the Camp of Karachi, not far distant. He thought it quite within the bounds of physical probability, that these unstable Hills should some day move from their base, across the plain, and overwhelm with ruin all the life and energy and wisdom, which have made Karachi, though comparatively a little town, yet a great place, of which all Sind is justly proud. But to revert to the sandstorm theory, I think that something may certainly be said in its favour. It seems to account naturally for the catastrophe which actually occurred. It is a theory entertained at all events by an old resident of Brahmanabad. The state of the foundations of the houses excavated by Mr. Bellasis, and of the lower parts of the walls, seems again inconsistent with the theory accepted by him. If there had been an earthquake, the

foundations would have been rent and overthrown, as well as the roofs and upper parts of the walls. No doubt, an earthquake or a slight upheaval even of the land, would account for the river leaving its old bed; but, in the first place, we have, so far as I am aware, no surveys to show that the level of the old water-course at Brahmanabad is really higher than the level of the bed of the Indus at that part of its course which is nearest to Brahmanabad; and in the next place, it is well known that the Indus is a most erratic stream, and that it really requires no help from earthquakes to enable it to change its course at any time. A rapid melting of snows in the mountains where it has its source, causing a sudden flood, would always furnish a sufficient inducement for it to seek a new course. And there is nothing again to show that the drying up of the old river bed at Brahmanabad was simultaneous with the destruction of the city.

I will not weary my readers with references to all the passages in the old histories of Sind, where Brahmanabad is mentioned. They are all set forth in Sir Henry Elliot's history. The materials are copious enough; the only difficulty is to fit them together, so as to form a connected historical narrative. This difficulty has been successfully met and overcome by Mr. Dayaram Gidumal; and I possess an interesting paper, prepared by him lately from all available materials,—a well told tale of war and warlike adventure, of patriotism and love, of crime and the punishment of crime. The Indian author, in search for some worthy subject on which to write for the edification of his countrymen, will find abundant material for a noble historical romance in the writings to which Mr. Dayaram has had recourse. To summarize his paper would be but to give a dull catalogue of the events of several centuries. I will not venture on so thankless a task. I will refer at present only to three personages, whose lives the popular imagination connects most closely with the downfall of Brahmanabad, which took place, according to Sayad Sabir Ali Shah, a learned Sayad of Tatta, about A. D. 1020. These three persons were the wicked King Dalu Rai, his good brother Chota Amrani, and Chota's wife, Fatima, who is better known in Sind as Bibi Dali. She was the Cassandra of her time and foretold the doom of Brahmanabad. The King Dalu Rai was a Hindu, the second of his name. The dominion ascribed to each of these kings shows, as remarked by Sir F. J. Goldsmid in his Memorandum on Brahmanabad, that the Mohamedan conquest of Sind was far from complete for the first three or four generations after the

invasion of Mohamad-bin-Kasim in A. D. 711. About the fourth century of the Mahomedan era, it was found desirable to strengthen the Arab tenure of Sind by additional settlers. The Bani Samin and the men of Saumra were the most famous of these. The latter were the ancesters of the Sumras, who eventually ruled the land. Dalurai's brother, Chota, had embraced Mahomedanism, and he aided the Muslim cause by going to Baghdad and returning with 100 Arab followers. But it is his importation of his wife with which we are most concerned; and it is thus described in the Tufat-ul-kiram, a comparatively modern work on the general history of Sind, written by an ancestor of Sayad Sabir Ali Shah of Tatta:—

"They say that Dalurai, after the destruction of Alor, came to reside at Brahmanabad. He had a brother by name Chota Amrani, son of Amr. The Almighty had converted him in youth to the blessings of Islam.

"He had left the city and learnt the Kuran by-heart, also the usages of Islamism in the most approved fashion. On his return, his friends wished him to marry; some one said jestingly on the occasion 'Let this renegade go to Kuba and wed with the daughter of such and such a famous Arab.' By good luck, and his brother being then young, he determined to go on a piligrimage. When he arrived at his destination, he saw a woman at a shop busy reading aloud the Kuran. He stood to listen. The reader said 'Why are you standing there?' 'To hear the Kuran,' he replied, 'if you will kindly teach me the various readings, I will be your slave.' The woman said 'My teacher is such a one, the daughter of such a one: if you will change your clothes, and put on a maiden's vesture I will take you to her.' He consented and was shortly in the damsel's presence. She was skilled among other accomplishments in astrology. One day the woman who had introduced Chota asked some questions from her regarding her own daughter's marriage. When the reply had been duly communicated, Chota said 'Since you know the state of others, assuredly you are acquainted with your own.' The damsel replied; 'It is well remembered, you have now looked into your own destiny.'

"She added 'I am to be united to a man from Sind.' He asked 'When?' She answered 'Soon.' He continued 'Where is the man?' She consulted her tables and replied 'You are the man.' When the veil had thus been removed from Chota's destiny, the expounder of the Kuran said 'Begone and come no longer in the guise of another. Take off these clothes, appear as yourself and seek my hand, for I am destined to be yours.' Then after acquainting her parents, she became the bride of Chota. The latter returned to Sind and took the beautiful Fatima with him."

Fatima, however, came to Sind only to be grossly insulted by her brother-in-law, King Dalu Rai, whose whole reign had been a dark career of vice and oppression. The insult to Fatima was the crowning crime of his life. Chota rescued his wife from his brother's grasp, and as he left the city with her, a mysterious voice was heard, declaring the city's doom, and warning those who would save them-

selves to flee. "A few" says the historian "obeyed and were watchful. The first night the city was spared by the watchfulness of an old woman at a wheel; the second by means of an oil presser; the third night the city went headlong into the earth—only one minaret was left as an example."

The Father of the Faithful pleaded for the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, that they should be spared, if peradventure only ten righteous men were found therein. But not even ten were found. And so, in a popular proverb about Bibi Dali, we are told how she was asked to save the innocent when the city was destroyed. A local legend further tells us that she adopted a remarkable expedient for testing the righteousness of the people. She placed a live fowl in the hands of her maid servant and told her to go through the streets of the city and to pluck the feathers off the bird with violence as she went, and then to bring back word whether any man or woman tried to rescue the bird, or upbraided her for her cruelty. But not a voice was raised, not a hand was put forth, to save the poor suffering bird. And so the city fell, though a few escaped, as the historian tells us, and founded the city of Nasarpur. As for Chota Amrani, his tomb is shown to this day at Sehvan, where it is regarded as a Saint's tomb, and people flock to it on Fridays as they have great faith in its powers. Bibi Dali seems to have been buried at Brahmanabad itself. At least I was shown a tomb there which is understood to be hers. The tomb of Dalu Rai is not shown. The whole city is his tomb; but the ruins, vast as they are, do not hide the infamy which clings to his name. His daughter is said to have married a Sayad, whose descendants still live in the town of Matari in the Hyderabad District.

H. Birdwood.

THE COMPANY'S "INVESTMENT" AND ITS EFFECTS UPON INDIA: II.

Warren Hastings had placed on record an emphatic protest against the impolicy and cruelty of setting aside the Zemindars and letting out the land to farmers whose only interest was to screw out of the peasantry the utmost that could be got. Nevertheless his first act on assuming the Governorship was to put up the lands of Bengal at public auction for a term of five years. The auction

resulted, to the great satisfaction of the Court of Directors, in a large nominal increase of revenue. This was due to the extreme misery of the population. At the auction there was a half frenzied emulation among the farmers to outbid one another. None of them had any expectation of fulfilling their engagements, but the position of farmer, for even a brief while, furnished the means of present subsistence. This was in 1770. Five years later the revenue had fallen heavily in arrears; the defaulting farmers after wringing the last farthing from the cultivators had fled to escape the payment of their dues to Government; and the condition of the country was worse and more melancholy than ever. In 1775, the question was mooted in Council whether instead of this wasteful expedient of farming, some definite and permanent mode of taxing the land might not be introduced. It was decided in the negative, on the ground that the Government was not in possession of sufficient information to enable it to enter upon such an undertaking. But the discussion produced, among other significant results, a minute, the joint production of the Governor General and Mr. Barwell, which contains a singularly candid account of the manner in which the land revenue had been collected hitherto :—

"The continual variations in the mode of collecting the Revenue, and the continual usurpation on the rights of the people, which have been caused . . . . . by the desire of acquiring a reputation from a sudden increase of these collections without sufficient attention to remote consequences, have fixed in the minds of the Ryots so rooted a distrust of the ordinances of the Government that no assurances, however strong, will persuade them that laws, which have no apparent object but the ease of the people and the security of property, can be of a long duration unless confirmed by a stronger pledge than the resolution of a fluctuating administration. Even with the Honorable Court of Directors time will be required to reconcile their belief to so extraordinary a revolution in the principles of their Government."

Farming accordingly remained in vogue all through Warren Hastings' administration, and the result of this terrible system of pillage was seen in the woful condition of these Gangetic Provinces when Lord Cornwallis arrived in Bengal. It was that condition which was, in truth, the reason and the justification of the hastily proclaimed Permanent Settlement. Lord Cornwallis deemed that no risk was too great to run in order to deliver the country from the ruin and misery into which this pernicious system had plunged it. Immense tracts of once cultivated land had lapsed into jungle tenanted only by wild beasts. The splendid causeways built by the Moslem rulers, and which had traversed the country in all directions,

had been allowed to fall into ruin and, in a large number of instances, had completely disappeared.

Each district was not only like an isolated country without any communication with the district next to it, but between one town and another in the same district, the only means of intercourse was by narrow foot-tracks through a dense jungle. During the rains even these were destroyed. Zemindars and ryots, driven from their holdings by the merciless rapacity of the farmers aided and abetted by the officers of the government, had taken to a life of violence and plunder. Police, of course, there was none. Under the Moslem Soubahdars the Zemindars were responsible for the peace and good order of the districts. But under the practice of farming they had been deprived of all authority; and police establishments as well as all the rest of the old machinery of local administration had come to an end. Highway robbers, sometimes in bands of several thousand men, roamed over the country, and slew, tortured and pillaged greatly at their ease. The instructions of the Court of Directors to Lord Cornwallis, dated 12th April 1786, are little more than a shrill shriek of despair. "The country" they write, "is drained by Farmers or by the Tahsildars, Sezawals, and Aumeeres of Government, none of whom have any permanent interest in its prosperity. The Zemindars are discontented, many of them deprived of their lands, overwhelmed by debts, or reduced to beggary; the attention of the Officers of Revenue is bewildered in the development of obscure accounts; a door is open for corruption and chicane, and in the end, the justice of Government is driven to the necessity of granting remissions to repair the wrongs which its own rapacity had created, which gives the people reason to conclude that there is no steadiness in the Government. These observations are proved by the voluminous proceedings of all our Revenue Boards, and by the incredible amount of balances and remissions which stands upon our records. Those for the five years' settlement formed by the Committee of Circuit, with the flattering promise of an increasing *Jumma*, amount to upwards of one hundred lacs of Sicca Rupees and we find that of late years the difficulties of each year have been greater than was formerly the case, which we attribute to the arbitrary increase of the *Jumma* and the unsteadiness of our system, rather than to any want of exertion or ability in our servants." The Court then goes on to argue, soundly enough, that it was idle to expect any increase in the extent of country under cultivation or the application of capital to the soil, so long as the State demand varied from

year to year. They objected most strongly to the practice which had hitherto prevailed of letting out districts in farm to the highest bidder. These people, necessarily, thought only of making a profit upon their agreement with the Government. The future was nothing to them, and by their merciless proceedings, the prosperity of the country was destroyed at the very root. The cultivators either perished of hunger or, abandoning their fields, became highway robbers. Hence a constant accumulation of arrears, and a growing disorganization of society. Any system which was simple and permanent must be an immense improvement upon this absence of all system, and though to fix for ever the government demand on the soil might seem to entail a loss of revenue, the State would, in the end, find itself more than recouped for this sacrifice out of the increased wealth and prosperity of the people.

The story of the Permanent Settlement and its disastrous failure has been told too often to need repetition here; but the causes of that failure have not been correctly discerned even to this day. It was not owing to the transformation of the Zemindars into proprietors of the estates for the revenues of which alone they had previously been responsible. The flourishing condition of Bengal and Behar, at the present time shows that in such transformation there was nothing essentially antagonistic to the general well-being. As a matter of fact it did not, at the time it was effected, entail such a subversion of the rights of property as is generally supposed. A subversion of all proprietory rights in the soil there had undoubtedly been; but it had begun thirty years before, after the battle of Plassey; and when Lord Cornwallis arrived in India, it may be said to have been complete. The old agricultural order was reduced to almost absolute chaos; and with every month's delay in the application of the remedy this anarchy grew worse, and the work of reorganization more difficult. It was imperative that something should be done without delay towards the re-establishment of order, and looking back from our present standpoint at the horrible confusion which prevailed, the paucity of English officers, and their helpless ignorance respecting the true character of Indian land tenures, it is hard to see what course Lord Cornwallis could have followed except that which he did. It must be remembered that he never contemplated the handing over of the cultivating population unprotected to the tender mercies of the Zemindars. The Permanent Settlement which he desired, and which he believed that he was carrying into effect, was one in which the rent payable

by the ryot to the Zemindar was to be as fixed as the contribution of the Zemindar to the State. Not by the rack-renting of the peasantry, but by the cultivation of waste land, was the Zemindar to reap the benefits latent in his novel position.

Had this plan been carried out precisely as it was conceived in the brain of its benevolent author, the condition of the peasantry in India at the present day would have been very different from what it is. The Permanent Settlement would then have been a great success, and would have gradually extended throughout British India, instead of the blundering and disastrous experiments which have been tried, differing in almost every province, and similar only, in the impoverishment they have brought down alike upon the people and the soil. But between the conception and the realization of Lord Cornwallis's project stood that terrible "Investment"—involving a necessity to obtain from the soil, over and above the legitimate expenses of the administration, such a surplus as would satisfy the commercial obligations of the company. This necessity operated in two ways.

The accumulation of arrears which the Court of Directors bewailed in their instructions of the 12th April showed that there was one remedial measure which was needed even more than a Permanent Settlement. This was a prompt and substantial reduction in the amount of the State demand. But if a substantial reduction, even for a single year, were granted, the Company's "Investment" could not be provided; and without this "Investment," the Court of Directors saw no escape from bankruptcy and extinction. Accordingly, so far from according a remission to the distressed provinces, the assessment was raised, by upwards of one million of rupees, even upon the total which it had reached during the closing years of Warren Hastings' rule. The plea put forward in justification of this was the "prospective advantages" of a Permanent Settlement to all classes on the soil. This enhanced assessment would, in all probability, have brought the ruin of both Zemindars and ryots under any circumstances. But the Company's "Investment" by compelling a deliberate starving down of all the civil and judicial establishments rendered this ruin inevitable. It was Lord Cornwallis's noble ambition to replace by a rule of law, the oppression and violence which had so far done duty in the Gangetic provinces for a Government of peace and security. And doubtless, if he had had adequate funds at his disposal he would have made, at least, a considerable approximation to his ideal. It

is well known how he purified the character of the English Civil Service by the granting of adequate salaries to Collectors and Judges. But the commercial demands of the Company prevented him from extending this most beneficent reform to the native portion of the Civil Service. And so while a small part of the administrative machinery was placed above temptation, by far the larger portion were permitted to get along as they best could, by a persistence in their ancient practices of bribery, extortion and corruption. The same cruel necessity effectually hindered him from providing the provinces with a sufficient number of courts of justice to get through the enormous amount of work which the new Settlement, combined as it was with a simultaneous establishment of a régime of law, was bound to create. Hitherto, in the collection of the Government revenue, Zemindars and Collectors had been armed with coercive powers to enforce the demand. Of these powers Lord Cornwallis deprived them; and directed that all disputes arising out of the collection of the Land Revenue should be determined in Courts "superintended by men distinguished for their integrity and abilities, and for their knowledge of the languages of the country"......"The constitution of the Courts" he goes on to say, "should be framed so as to put it out of the power of the Judges to deny or delay justice; individuals should by mere application be able to command their interposition for the redress of injuries from whomsoever sustained." Conformably with these admirable sentiments, the deposit fee upon filing a suit was abolished, and justice, it was declared, should henceforth be dispensed gratuitously. The consequence can be easily imagined. The courts were blocked with suitors. The work to be done proved to be altogether beyond the capacity of the judicial officers to get through; and "the most effectual relief" we read in the 5th Report, "from the inconvenience sustained was the revival of the deposit fee, and in other respects rendering the proceedings costly to the party cast or non-suited." This process was continued—the proceedings being rendered more and more costly until all the poorer litigants had been successfully choked of, and the files of the judges diminished to a manageable compass.

This first attempt to make the suits on the file correspond, not to the wants of the people, but to the working powers of a strictly limited number of judges was made in 1795, just two years after Lord Cornwallis had published his determination to provide justice, free of cost, for all the inhabitants of British India. It was, however, found

inadequate to cope with "the inconvenience." The judges still failed to overtake their work; arrears still continued to accumulate; and the Government still evaded the only adequate and obvious remedy—that of increasing the number of judges. "An augmentation" says the Fifth Report, "of the number of European judges adequate to the purpose required would be attended with an augmentation of charge, which the state of the finances is not calculated to bear; and the same objection occurs to the appointment of assistant judges," upon which statement the elder Mill remarks—"Never since man had the use of language was a more terrible condemnation of any government pronounced."

The Permanent Settlement, then, failed because the administrative machinery provided for carrying it into effect was altogether inadequate for the purpose. And this again was due to the fact that the commercial demands of the East India Company, in other words, the "Investment," constituted a first charge upon the revenues of British India. To provide the funds necessary to meet this steadily recurring charge, the taxation, on the one hand, had to be forced up to the highest point, and, on the other, the most essential conditions of good government had to be ignored. The state of things which prevailed in Bengal so recently even as fifty years ago, as it is revealed to us in the unimpeachable Reports of Parliamentary Committees and the official letters of our own Collectors, is almost incredible and inconceivable. The English officials were too few and too much divided from the people to govern directly. They were obliged to act upon information gathered from their native subordinates, which they knew perfectly well to be false in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred. For these servants of Government took office for no purpose except to enrich themselves by *not* performing the duties entrusted to them. So corrupt, in consequence, became the minor Courts of law—so inefficient, violent and oppressive the police—that the supreme endeavour of the great body of the people was to keep themselves and their affairs beyond the cognizance of the established authorities. The rapid growth of crime under these exceptionally favourable conditions will be readily imagined. The profession of Dacoity became in fact a highly honorable occupation, a profession which reflected lustre upon the family and relations of him who practised it. Dacoits gloried in the dread which their names inspired. They scorned to practise any concealment as to their names or their personal identity. They knew that they could count upon the

reluctance of witnesses to risk their lives by giving evidence against a notorious gang robber. With gangs of robbers roaming at large over the country, and without any police worthy of the name in existence, every land-holder, planter, banker, considerable trader and store keeper was obliged to keep men, often in considerable numbers, to defend his property and his life. Though the primary object of these irregular forces was to furnish protection against gang-robbers, their services were available for other purposes. If a village was slack in paying rent, they were employed to beat the ryots and pillage their huts. If two Zemindars had a dispute concerning a bit of land, they fought the matter out with their bands of armed men. Especially were such affrays frequent during the sowing and reaping of the Indigo crops. "As magistrate of Nuddea," writes a civilian, so late as the year 1832, "I had some opportunity of witnessing the scenes of contention and strife. From the moment of ploughing the land and sowing the seed to the season of reaping the crops, the whole district is thrown into a state of ferment. The most daring breaches of the peace are committed in the face of our Police officers and even of the Magistrate himself. In utter defiance of all law and authority, large bodies of armed men are avowedly entertained for the express purpose of taking or retaining forcible possession of lands or crops. Violent affrays or rather regular pitched battles ensue attended with bloodshed and homicide. Our police establishments are corrupted and the darogahs are said to be notoriously in the pay of the planters, European or native, to secure their good offices. Private assassinations occasionally occur, and perjury and forgery have their full sway. In fact every species of crime is committed." "Some twelve years ago" says a Missionary in evidence given before the Indigo Riots Commission, "I paid a visit to a Missionary and at breakfast time, he spoke to his wife of the outrages of the neighbouring planter, and of his threat of burning down a certain village. At that time I was astonished to hear of such things, and after breakfast we both went to the top of the house, and I saw the smoke arising. I remember one particular case about a market. I was then living in a tent for some days, and people pointed out to me where a good many shops and houses were standing, and affirmed that a certain planter had burned down the place. A few miles from the place where I happened to pitch my tent I saw another village with the vestiges of very respectable houses which had evidently been inhabited by prosperous ryots. I was told that the

planter had desolated the place because the ryots would not agree to his terms; it had the appearance of having been a prosperous village once."

Evidence of a like kind might be multiplied indefinitely. And if we pass from Bengal to other parts of India during the early years of the Company's rule, we are witnesses of the same melancholy scenes. The land tax was invariably raised beyond the amount demanded by the native rulers—on the ground that the additional burden would not be felt under a wise and beneficent administration, and then, in order to meet the "Home Charges" the Administration was cut down till it became as in Bengal, an encouragement to evil doers, and a terror to them that did well. The rule of the East India Company in India was an attempt to reconcile two utterly incompatible things—the pecuniary interests of the Proprietors of East India Stock in London, with justice to the people of India. This could not be done because, as a trading corporation, the East India Company was as absolute an imposture as can be imagined. Its liabilities were enormous; its assets nothing at all. Of capital it did not possess a single farthing. The so-called stock which, from time to time, was nominally added to its capital was immediately dispersed in the form of dividends and left no trace behind, except an augmented charge upon the revenues of the country. Thus the drain upon the resources of the country increased with every addition to the commercial indebtedness of the Company in London, and yet the Company went on, from year to year, adding to its liabilities with an easy and cheerful mind.

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LITERARY NOTICES.

Custom and Myth. By ANDREW LANG, M.A., London : Longmans, Green and Co. ; 1884.

Myths and Dreams. By EDWARD CLODD. London : Chatto and Windus ; 1885.

Indian Myths. Legends of the Aborigines of America. By ELLEN RUSSELL EMERSON. London. Trubner and Co. ; 1884.

The importance of mythology as a fruitful field for investigation into the history and development of man is well illustrated in the above

volumes. Their objects are diverse as their titles. The first is for the most part polemical, and destructive of previous methods of comparative mythology, while the second is constructive and attempts to find in myths and dreams the origin and growth of belief in the supernatural, and the third—the largest of the three—contents itself with the comparatively modest object of finding in the myths of the Red Indian an argument for the capability of culture among these races. In point of interest and importance in the history of comparative mythology Mr. Lang's volume claims the first place. It may be regarded as marking an era in the discussion of this subject. It is not indeed the first hint of a division within the camp; many things have of late pointed to a reaction against the orthodox methods. But it is the first clear systematic attempt to throw doubt on the philological method of comparative mythology, and whatever value may ultimately be allowed to the alternative theory advocated in *Custom and Myth*, the honour of the discovery will rest with Mr. Lang.

The philological method is the now well-known, orthodox method elaborated by Max Müller, Adalbert Kuhn and others. "Myths are a disease of language, as the pearl is a result of a disease of the oyster." Names are the permanent elements "stubborn things," and therefore since the myth has probably risen from a forgetfulness of language, its secret must be discovered in an analysis of the proper names of the persons. The pure ideas which men originally possessed of the gods were clothed in figurative language, and these figures, when their true meaning was lost came to be regarded as gods themselves.

To this theory Mr. Lang opposes the anthropological method, or as he calls it "the method of folklore." The courage requisite to attack a theory supported by scholars of such undoubted ability he finds in the fact that, however strongly they unite in supporting the philological method, frequently no two of them agree in the results obtained by the application of that method. "They all analyse the names in myths, but where one scholar decides that the name is Sanscrit, another holds that it is purely Greek and a third, perhaps, is all for an Accadian etymology, or a Semitic derivation." "The inference, says Mr. Lang, is that the analysis of names on which the whole edifice of philological 'comparative mythology' rests, is a foundation of shifting sand, The method is called 'orthodox,' but among those who practice it, there is none of the beautiful unanimity of orthodoxy."

Starting with a comparison which continually recurs throughout the essays, the author finds that just as flint arrow heads are found in every country and every isle, and bear no very definite marks of influence of race, so stories and customs are found amongst the most diverse races, from the savage up to the cultured Greek, which are yet essentially the same.

What then is the method of folklore? The answer is in Mr. Lang's own words :—

"The method is, when an apparently irrational and anomalous custom is found in any country, to look for a country where a similar practice is found, and where the practice is no longer irrational and anomalous but in harmony with the manners and ideas of the people among whom it prevails. That Greeks should dance about in their mysteries with harmless serpents in their hands looks quite unintelligible. When a wild tribe of Red Indians does the same thing, as a trial of courage, with real rattlesnakes, we understand the Red Man's motives, and may conjecture that similar motives once existed among the ancestors of the Greeks. Our method then is to compare the seemingly meaningless customs or manners of civilised races with the similar customs and manners which exist among the uncivilised and still retain their meaning. It is not necessary for comparison of this sort that the uncivilised and the civilised race should be of the same stock, nor need we prove that they were ever in contact with each other. Similar conditions of mind produce similar practices, apart from identity of race, or borrowing of ideas and manners."

This last sentence is important for the argument, for philological mythologists hold it scientific to compare only languages belonging to the same family, or the languages of nations shown to have been in contact. The method of folklore compares myths of the most diverse races, for as "myth is a product of the early human fancy, working on the most rudimentary knowledge of the outer world the student of folklore thinks that differences of race do not much affect the early mythopoeic faculty." This does not assert that race has nothing to do with myth. It holds only that "the stuff of myth," is universal and the gift of the savage intellect, while the form which the myth may ultimately assume varies in each race.

This theory is supported throughout the volume in a series of examples, to one of which only we shall refer, as an instance of the author's method of procedure.

The myth of Cupid and Psyche is found in various forms in different races. In one shape, or another appears 'even among barbarians' the tale of the woman who is forbidden to see or to name her husband, of the man with the vanished fairy bride. According to the story, the prohibition is always broken, the name uttered, and the union ended. Selecting one of these tales, the story of Urvasi and Pururavas in the Rig Veda, Mr. Lang examines the interpretations of it given by the philological mythologists. The story itself, which is only dramatised in the Rig Veda, is given in the Brahmana of the Yajur Veda. "Urvasi a kind of fairy fell in love with Pururavas, and when she met him she said : Embrace me three times a day, but never against my will, and let me never see you without your royal garments, *for this is the manner of women.*" However in a flash of lightning Urvasi saw him, and she vanished.

To find the explanation the advocates of the philological method seize on the proper names. According to Max Müller, Urvasi and Pururavas, though now names of persons were originally appellations meaning "dawn" and "sun," and "the conclusion of the argument is that antiquity spoke of the naked sun, and of the chaste dawn hiding her face when she had seen her husband." Kuhn however sees in it a fire-myth, while Roth holds a distinct view of his own.

Mr. Lang instead of giving a new interpretation of the names looks around and attempts to prove the "existence of singular rules of etiquette, corresponding to the etiquette accidentally infringed by Pururavas." He brings together a large number of instances among savage tribes, where the wife is forbidden to see her husband, or the husband to see his wife unveiled for several years. His investigations make no distinction of Aryan and non-Aryan, and he reaches the conclusion that all the parallel myths arose from a law of savage marital etiquette. He sums up a lengthened investigation as follows:—

"Here we conclude, having traced parallels to Cupid and Psyche in many non-Aryan lands. Our theory of the myth does not rest on etymology. We have seen that the most renowned scholars Max Müller, Kuhn, Roth, all analyse the names Urvasi and Pururavas in different ways and extract different interpretations. We have found the story where these names were probably never heard of. We interpret it as a tale of the intercourse between mortal men and immortal maids or between men and metamorphosed animals, in India and North America. We explain the separation of the lovers as the result of breaking a taboo, or law of etiquette, binding among men and women, as well as between men and fairies."

The theory is illustrated and enforced in a series of essays, such as "Apollo and the Mouse," "Star myths," "Hottentot mythology,," "Fetichism and the Infinite," &c.

Mr. Lang writes with great cogency and grace of style, while a delicate vein of humour runs through the whole, giving additional charm to the volume. Both a linguist and folklorist, he possesses peculiar qualifications for his task, while his thorough knowledge of savage life and thought lays open for him a wide field for abundant illustration. His theory must necessarily exercise considerable influence in the study of mythology.

Mr. Edward Clodd's "Myths and Dreams" indeed shows already the influence of Mr. Lang. This volume, while in no sense so important a contribution to the subject, may yet be found to arrive somewhat nearer the ultimate truth. It is the work of another mind with the theories of both schools before it, and influenced by what is best in both. He finds accordingly that there is still a field for the philological mythologist although he cannot now lay claim to the whole. The object of the volume is "to present in compendious form the evidence which myths and dreams

supply as to primitive man's interpretation of his own nature and of the external world, and more especially to indicate how such evidence carries within itself the history of the origin and growth of beliefs in the supernatural."

To Mr. Clodd myth is all-important. In it "lie the germs of philosophy, theology and science, the beginnings of all knowledge that man has attained or ever will attain." Its beginning is coincident with the beginning of thought, which however must remain undetermined.

Springing from wonder and fear in the first instance, myths are yet modified by many secondary causes. These the author, in tracing the birth and growth of myth, discusses in separate sections, such as the "Confusion of early thought between the living and non-living," "Personification of the powers of nature," &c. The second part of the book is occupied with dreams and their place in the growth of belief in the Supernatural.

The volume is interesting and instructive, but we miss in it that clearness which his early little volume to the young, *The childhood of the World*, had led us to expect.

Indian Myths, whatever value it possesses, comes at least opportunely. A fresh interest has of late been excited in the Indians of America on the question how far they are capable of a genuine civilization and intellectual culture. The book before us professes to be a contribution to the solution of this problem. "By the compilation of these myths," says the author in her preface, "I seek to make more evident the capacity of the Indian race for moral and intellectual culture." A volume of nearly 700 pages to prove a fact which actual experiment has rendered sufficiently clear seems to us at least a misplaced expenditure of energy. Apart however from the ostensible purpose of its existence it is a useful compendium of Indian myths, and presents many curious parallels in other nations. An exhaustive index renders it specially serviceable for reference.

Memoir and Correspondence of General James Stuart Fraser, of the Madras Army; by his son COLONEL HASTINGS FRASER, M.S.C., London: Whiting and Co., 1885.

James Stuart Fraser was born in Edinburgh in 1783 and was the youngest of a family of six sons and three daughters. His father, an officer in the service of the East India Company, was descended from a younger branch of the Lovat family which had been settled for many years on the estate of Ardachie in Inverness-Shire, an estate which finally became the property of General Fraser. James Fraser was educated first at Ham in Surrey, and afterwards at Glasgow University where he was under the special care of Professor Miller. At the early age of

sixteen he came out to Madras as a cadet in the 18th Regiment of Native Infantry. His military promotion was rapid, for we find him a Lieutenant in 1800, a Captain in 1809, a Colonel in 1829, and a Major-General in 1833. Of his military career, however little need be said, for it is in political work that he has chiefly left his mark. His first political appointment was that of Assistant to Lieutenant-Colonel Marriott when he was engaged in transporting the families of the Mysore Princes from the Carnatic to Bengal in 1807. In the following year he was appointed Aide-de-Camp to Sir George Barlow the Governor of Madras. He held this post till May 1810 when he joined the expedition for the invasion of Mauritius as Deputy Commissary, and acted on the personal staff of the Commandant till the surrender of the island.

During the next three years he was Town Major of Fort St. George and Military Secretary to the Governor. When peace was made with France a number of questions arose with regard to the carrying out of the conditions of the treaty of 1814, and Captain Fraser was appointed Commissioner for conducting the restitution of the French Settlements on the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts. This and some other similar matters he conducted with such success as to gain for himself the thanks of both the English and French Governments. In 1834 we find him engaged in more stirring work. The Rajah of Coorg had recently shown signs of openly defying the power of the English Government, and it was evident that coercive measures would have to be used to bring him to reason, so a force was ordered to Coorg in which Colonel Fraser occupied the position of political agent. The campaign was short and decisive, and its successful conduct led to the appointment of Colonel Fraser as Resident at Mysore and Commissioner of Coorg.

In 1836 he was transferred to the Travancore Residency, and in 1838 to that of Hyderabad, where he remained till he retired from the service in 1852. It is in his work at Hyderabad that the chief interest of his memoirs is centred, but the friendship which he had formed with the Princes of Mysore and Travancore while Resident at their Courts continued all the time he remained in the country, and even after he left India he kept up a correspondence with them.

When General Fraser reached Hyderabad he found affairs in a very unsatisfactory state. The Minister, Rajah Chundoo Lall, was practically supreme in the State, and it had been the policy of the Resident on all occasions to act in hearty co-operation with him. Chundoo Lall was crafty enough to make full use of the power which he thus obtained. Here is what General Fraser writes of him in his first letter to Lord Auckland:—

" . . . . as long as Chundoo Lall lives, I apprehend little or nothing can be done. He is very old (between 77 and 78); and in all human probability the grave cannot be far removed from him. He has played the game of Govern-

ment long and skilfully—a word which I use rather than ably; for I cannot ascribe to him genuine capacity still less great talent. We have been the tools in his hand. Adroitly opposing the Nizam to us, or us, at other times, to his sovereign, as might suit the aim and object of the moment—keeping both parties in a state of estrangement from each other, and aided by other means alluded to at the beginning of this letter, he has contrived to keep the government—or rather the Dictatorship—of the country in his hands for thirty years. Still, whatever his motives may have been, and how far soever actuated by self-interest and determination to uphold his own authority, he has been, truly and essentially, our friend."

Such was the man with whom Fraser had to deal and who, for the time, rendered all change for the better almost impossible. A part of his policy which irritated the Resident greatly was that of keeping him from making the acquaintance of the nobles of Hyderabad. No one in any way connected with the Government dare call at the Residency, and this was felt rather bitterly by one who wished to be on friendly terms with all. The financial condition of the State was at this time very bad, the annual deficit for each of the four years from 1839 to 1843 being about sixty lakhs of rupees. Money had of course to be borrowed at a high rate of interest, and meanwhile the irregular troops became more and more a source of danger through the inability of the minister to pay them. Such being the position of affairs, General Fraser suggested that the British Government should assist the Nizam with a loan at six per cent., with which all the arrears due to the troops might be discharged as a preliminary to a reduction in their numbers. At the same time the advances made by soucars would be repaid, and so the State would be relieved from paying an exorbitant rate of interest, while the reduction in the irregular troops would not only reduce the expenditure directly, but would also allow of a further saving by rendering it possible to reduce the number of the regular troops required to hold the turbulent Arabs in check. Nothing however was done at the time, and soon General Fraser had to face trouble of another kind. Early in 1842 the Court of Directors had given orders that the batta paid to the Madras sepoys of the subsidiary force should cease. Naturally this order caused great disatisfaction, and a wing of the 52nd Native Infantry at Asseerghur actually refused to accept their pay without batta, and the sepoys in Secunderabad seemed prepared to take a similar step. General Fraser had, as Resident, full authority over both the subsidiary force and the contingent, and so was responsible for carrying out this most unwise order of the Court. Matters were by no means simplified by the circumstance that General Fraser held very strong opinions as to the unfairness of the proceeding, opinions in which he was warmly supported by Lord Elphinstone; but he was too much of a soldier to shirk his responsibilities, and when definite

orders came from the Government of India he at once proceeded to execute them. He had at the time only some 500 efficient European soldiers under his command, but by making a good use of these, and by dealing with the regiments individually, he succeeded in repressing all signs of mutiny without firing a shot. For this he received the cordial thanks of both the Madras and the Supreme Governments, but the subsequent action of Lord Ellenborough on his assumption of the Governor Generalship, caused General Fraser to look back on what was one of his greatest triumphs with very bitter recollections. Fraser had promised the sepoys that their supposed grievances should be considered, though he held out no hope that the batta would be restored, and the Madras Government appointed a committee to examine into the matter. Before the committee had met, however, the Supreme Government countermanded it and General Fraser felt that it was no slight matter that his pledge given to the sepoys should thus be broken, and that he should appear as one who, when he had gained his own ends, cared nothing for the promises he had made. During 1842 and 1843 affairs in Hyderabad went from bad to worse and the financial pressure was such that Chundoo Lall was unable any longer to keep things going by borrowing money. The pay of the contingent was some six months in arrears, and as this was a matter in which the Supreme Government took a real interest it soon became evident that a crisis was at hand. An application was now made to the Supreme Government, through the Resident, for a loan of a crore of rupees to clear off the debts of the State and an assignment of territory yielding a revenue of seventeen lakhs of rupees was offered as a security for the payment of principal and interest. But Lord Ellenborough was not yet prepared to take any action. In a private letter to General Fraser he wrote :—

"I want to do only one thing at a time. We must first settle Scinde. The Punjaub is tending to internal commotion. It is hardly possible that affairs should remain there in their present state long. Our own finances require a little fostering. What I want in the Deccan is *time*. We must prevent any outbreak there ; but that being done, I had rather keep things as they are than attempt to improve them with insufficient means to effect my purpose."

And again :—

"I know very well that the present state of affairs in Hyderabad is not what it ought to be. There is a great deal to do in the Nizam's country, but I must now attend to more pressing demands upon me. I shall settle affairs at Hyderabad and everywhere else *in time*, but I must have time and choose my own."

But matters had gone too far already to be left quietly till Lord Ellenborough had time to attend to them. Chundoo Lall was at length forced by the Nizam to resign and after much intriguing he was removed from his office. This did not suit Lord Ellenborough's ideas, and, though

he had carefully avoided giving General Fraser any definite instructions as to what he should do under the circumstances, this did not prevent him from more or less openly censuring the Resident for having permitted the removal of the minister.

Having got rid of Chundoo Lall the Nizam was unwilling to choose another minister, but, appointing Sooraj-ool-Moolk his Vakeel and Rajah Ram Buksh, a nephew of Chundoo Lall, his Peshcar or Financial Secretary, undertook the rest of the minister's work himself. At the same time he advanced a large sum of money from his private treasure for clearing off some of the more pressing debts of the State. But this did not mend matters much, and at length in 1846 the direct interference of the Governor General induced the Nizam to confer full powers on the Nawab Sooraj-ool-Moolk. Lord Hardinge, who was now in office, seems to have accepted his predecessor's ideas that affairs in Hyderabad should be allowed to drift from bad to worse till it would be necessary to interfere in such a way as practically meant the assumption of the Government of the country. General Fraser could not sympathize with this policy. He knew that a very slight interference on the part of the Supreme Government, if judiciously made, would have the most beneficial effect and he urged his opinion on the Governor General with all the vigour and persistency compatible with his position. But it was of no use; the Calcutta authorities always assumed that nothing could be done without actual force, and when urged to take action replied that no force was available.

Early in 1848 just after Lord Dalhousie had become Governor-General, Fraser for the first and only time in fifty years had to apply for six month's leave. The leave was spent in a voyage to the Straits, whither he went chiefly for the sake of his daughter's health. During his absence his place was taken by Colonel Low who had very strong views on the subject of the Contingent, and urged that it should be reduced so as not to cost more than twenty lakhs per annum, instead of the forty lakhs which it then cost. This view differed considerably from that of General Fraser who held that it would be unwise to reduce the Contingent to any great extent until the inefficient and turbulent irregulars, against which it had frequently to be employed, were got rid of. At the same time the question of the pay of the Contingent was becoming a very serious one, and the Nizam's Government was now so heavily in debt that Lord Dalhousie in a letter to the Nizam goes so far as to write; "the Governor General desires clearly and distinctly to warn His Highness, that within a short space of time his treasury will be bankrupt and his whole kingdom in disorder and confusion." The Nizam, too, was not on good terms with his Dewan and finally dismissed him, appointing Shums-ool-Oomra in his place. He in turn was dismissed after he had

been in office only five months. These constant changes greatly complicated negotiations, and no steps were taken to clear the financial position.

The position taken up by Lord Dalhousie at this time is best given in his own words in an extract from a private letter to General Fraser':—

"... I will rigidly act up to the requirements of the treaty with him. I will give him aid and advice. I will effectually take care that if he chooses to ruin himself in spite of aid and advice, he shall not disturb the peace of British territory, or either injure or play with British interests. But I will not contravene the treaty on the pretence of protecting the Nizam, and I disavow the doctrine of our having any moral or political obligation to take the Government of his country into our own hands merely because he mismanages his own affairs; and I recognize no mission entrusted to us to regenerate independent Indian States merely because they are misgoverned. When we are invited, or our own interests affected I will act decidedly enough."

Meanwhile the pressure for the payment of the debt was continued and the Nizam was informed that in case of further delay it would be necessary to take possession of sufficient territory to insure the regular payment of the cost of the Contingent. General Fraser was of opinion that the best way to extricate the country from its difficulties was to get the Nizam to agree to hand over the country to the British Government for a fixed number of years, after which it should be restored to his full sovereignty. But this did not at all meet with Lord Dalhousie's approval and instead of sending the Nizam a friendly but decided letter drafted by the Resident, he sent him a *Khureeta* couched in harsh and almost abusive terms, in which he formally demanded the cession of a large amount of territory and the appointment of a minister vested with full powers. Sooraj-ool-Moolk was appointed Dewan, and the Nizam found means to pay at once more than half of the debt, while he promised to pay the remainder in less than three months, thus avoiding for the time the necessity of ceding any of his territory. The second instalment however was not paid at the specified time, but meanwhile Lord Dalhousie, who had formerly thought that the claim for the support of the Contingent depended on treaty rights, now admitted that there was no just ground for this opinion, and resolving that he must have the Berars, wrote to the Resident to abstain from pressing for payment of the principal of the Company's debt. By this time General Fraser's opinions differed so strongly from those of the Indian Government that there was much friction between them, and the Resident had received some very sharp letters from Lord Dalhousie. Nothing kept him in India except the fact that he had not saved enough of money to retire, and when this difficulty was solved by his becoming heir to his brother General Hastings Fraser, he at once sent in his resignation and left for England early in

1853 after fifty-two years continuous service in the country. He left India without any public acknowledgment of his services but not without many proofs of the estimation in which he was held by all classes of the community. After a brief return to India, where for a time, he intended to settle, he finally retired to England where he continued to have a strong interest in all Indian matters. He died in 1869 at the age of 86.

It is impossible here to go into the merits af the controversy about the Contingent and the Berars. Those who wish to study the matter will do well to read the correspondence published in this book which throws many side lights on the questions at issue: no one can read it without feeling that Fraser was a man of sterling honesty and uprightness of purpose, and we think that most readers will agree that if the Government had paid more attention to General Fraser's opinions they might have saved the country from many of its difficulties.

The volume is certainly an interesting and valuable contribution to the history of our relations with Hyderabad, but we fear that many will find its tone too controversial. Few have time to study a biography as this needs to be studied, and we are by no means sure that it would not have been more effective in every way if it had been more condensed—more of a narrative in fact and less a collection of letters.

A Hand-Book of Psychology. (*With Special Reference to Bain.*) By S. Satthianadhan, B.A., LL.B., (Cantab.)

This is one of a class of books whose name in India is 'Legion.' They may be succinctly described as 'Helps to pass examinations.' That this book belongs to that class is avowedly stated in the preface, where we read: "This little book will, it is hoped, be of some use to students preparing for the several Indian university examinations." As the number of those who desire to pass University examinations is large and ever increasing, any book that bids fair to help aspiring candidates to gain their object is sure to be largely patronised. It is somewhat unfortunate for the enterprising author of this book that it has come out somewhat late in the day. For a number of years Bain's *Manual of Mental Science* has been the text-book in Psychology prescribed by the Madras University. Accordingly it has hitherto been a matter of the utmost importance for B. A. students to be ground up to examination pitch in Bain's psychology. Whether this has been a good thing or otherwise is a separate question. We are inclined to think that those derive most benefit from the study of Bain who are led thereby to recognise the need of a deeper philosophy than that which he furnishes. But be that as it may, what we have to remark here is that this book is not likely to be of so much service, according to its own standard of utility, as it would have been if it had come out a few years ago. Text-Books in Philosophy and Logic are

now discarded in the Madras University. A syllabus of topics for examination has been substituted, and examiners are now directed to examine in the subject and not in any particular author, nor from the standpoint of any particular school. No doubt an acquaintance with Bain's psychological views will still by required by examiners. The temporary popularity attained by the school to which he belongs, and of which he is the Coryphæus, will prevent his being ignored. Indeed the probability is that Madras graduates, if set to examine in this subject, will be too much inclined to make Bain's views the standard of correctness. We have little doubt therefore that these *Notes* will still find many purchasers.

The scope of the book is stated in the Preface thus, "This little book is only intended as a companion to Bain's Mental Science." Accordingly it takes up, *seriatim*, the chief subjects treated of in Bain's Psychology and gives a brief summary of his views thereon. That this is carefully and intelligently done is testified by those who are well able to judge. Besides being a companion to Bain, it might with advantage have been something of a 'candid friend.' A little criticism now and then would not have been out of place in expounding a psychologist who lays himself so open to criticism as Bain does. Acute as he is, his range is narrow, and he is often oblivious or careless of the fact that a doctrine that he propounds at one time runs counter to one that he propounds at another. Thus he adduces certain phenomena as examples of spontaneity, although he had previously alleged the same as illustrations of reflex action. But they cannot be both unless the distinction between reflex action and spontaneity is one without a difference. Again Bain's explanation of our discrimination of plurality of points of contact is one that, as a little reflection shows, involves a consequence quite opposed to fact, experience and his own admission—the consequence, *viz.*, that in the same part of the bodily superficies the interval of plurality would vary with the relative position of the points from a maximum to almost nothing. Again, after being told that the sense of resemblance is developed *pari passu* with the sense of difference, we are not a little surprised to be informed that one condition of good perception for similarity amid diversity is *a low or inferior susceptibility for points of diversity*. But the crowning example of compelling doctrines that are at daggers' drawn with each other to live together like a happy family is seen in his making a bodily organism a *sine qua non* of the existence of mental phenomena, while at the same time he makes the whole external world, including the bodily organism, a construction of the mind. He thus makes matter *causa sui*—its own cause.

As a follower of Hartley, who inaugurated a revolution in Psychology by not simply explaining the laws of association but using them to a great extent to explain the faculties, much of Bain's psychology is

necessarily of a temporary and provisional character. Nothing can render really credible the hypothesis that faculties such as *seeing distance*, *localising sensation*, the *moral sense*, are acquired by association, save the postulate of an indefinite length of time in which to make the acquisition. And this *desideratum* can be supplied only by making the process take effect in the race and not in the individual. Bain's associational psychology must therefore either be abandoned, or must be supplemented and modified by the hypothesis of evolution.

Still, notwithstanding these caveats, Bain's works on Psychology are marked by such sterling qualities—vigour of thought, clearness of arrangement, richness of illustration—that they deserve to be studied; and we have much pleasure in recommending this little book as a companion to their study. One feature of the work ought specially to be noticed and that is the frequency with which it compares with Bain's views the views of other psychologists such as Hamilton, Spencer and Sully.

On the Theory of Morals, by J. N. GHOSE. Lahore. 1885.

This is a small pamphlet of 11 pages. Small as it is, however, it contains a new moral theory. Had the author allowed himself a larger scope, we should have looked for a fuller statement of his reasons both for rejecting already existing theories and for adding one to their number. As it is, however, we must be content with little more than a bare renunciation of the one and enunciation of the other. Briefly stated the new theory is this: Actions are right if they realise the end of our existence, otherwise wrong. The end of our existence is a threefold one, *viz.*, Happiness, Knowledge, Liberty; corresponding to the threefold division of the mind, sensibility, intellect and will. This theory, we may remark, is not quite new. Jouffroy many years ago propounded the theory that moral rectitude consists in acting so to realise the end of our being. The novelty in Mr. Ghose's theory is that instead of a single end he gives us three. Such being the case, the theory will have to run the gauntlet of a good many questions. For example, are these ends individual or social? Are we to aim at the liberty, knowledge and happiness of the individual or of society? Are these ends co-ordinate? If so, who is it to be umpire when they happen to come into collision? If ignorance happens to be bliss, am I to choose the folly of being wise? If my servitude is delightful, am I to sacrifice my pleasure for liberty? If Galileo loves freedom is he for its sake to recant the truth, *e pur si muove*? We have no doubt that Mr. Ghose has answers ready for these questions, but in the absence of definite information we can only conjecture what they would be. The pamphlet, which is well written and indicates a matured acquaint-

ance with the subject, is dedicated to H. H. the Maharajah of Cutch; who we are glad to think takes an interest in such questions.

The Shrines of Lourdes, Zaragossa, The Holy Stairs at Rome, The Holy House of Loretto and Nazareth, and St. Ann at Jerusalem, By ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST. London: Trubner and Co. 1885.

This is an unpretentious little volume, giving a simple sketch of the origin and influence of some of the most important shrines in the Roman Catholic Church. The title is almost an exhaustive index of the contents. In hardly any sense controversial, it trusts to the simple historical sketch as the most effective instrument for revealing the true influence of such worship. That the view taken by the author is by no means extreme or false to fact has received a recent confirmation in a volume just published by Monsignor G. F. Dillon D. D—*The Virgin Mother of Good Counsel* in which Mariolatry in its extreme form is insisted on as the duty of the faithful. The professed object of Mr. Cust—which however he simply alludes to occasionally in the course of his sketch—is the bearing of such worship on Missions.

"One fact," he says, "is of the utmost importance, *viz.*, the appearance in Roman Catholic Missions of a Fourth Supreme Personage outside of, and in addition to, the Trinity. There is no use in mincing words here, for the native of Asia or Africa will never be brought to see the position I speak of in any other light."

Again, after pointing out the absurdities practised at such places as Lourdes and Zaragossa, and the miracles brought about, he adds:—

"The conclusion which one is compelled to arrive is that Asiatic and African Churches if taught such doctrines, and influenced by such practices, will fall into greater errors that those to which they are now liable. They will have changed the names of the Images which they worship, but will have conserved the practices and the feelings which the worship inspired."

This will be granted by most outside Romanism, and by many within, who, while loyal to their Church, are not blind to its evils.

To insure accuracy the author visited the different shrines described, and in consequence the sketches possess the additional vivacity which comes from the pen of an eye-witness. Four photographs of the more important places add to their value.

We commend this little book, apart from its missionary aspect, as an interesting and simple sketch of the origin and nature of these popular shrines.

Journal of the Health Society for Calcutta and its Suburbs, (Vol. I, Part V.) Calcutta: Central Press Co., 1885.

We have here an interesting and lively lecture on "Decay and the Germ Theory of Disease" by Mr. W. J. Simmons, the energetic Honor-

ary Secretary of the Society. The first half of the lecture is a popular exposition of what is now known of the life-history of micro-organisms, and it is on the whole the best such exposition that we have seen; for though eminently readable, even to those who have no previous knowledge of the subject, it is nevertheless accurate and scientific and is illustrated by a well-executed plate of diagrams. The second half of the lecture is practical. It is an answer to the question—What can we do to prevent such diseases as are certainly or possibly due to the agency of microphytes? Briefly put the answer is of course 'Be cleanly.' But how? It is no easy matter this in a country where baker, milkman, cook and dhobie seem all in league. We shall not distress our readers by following Mr. Simmons into his descriptions of the Calcutta dhobie and his tank. What he tells us he has witnessed with his own eyes is revolting in the extreme and reflects little credit on the metropolitan municipality. Our benighted Madras—though bad enough—is in this respect infinitely ahead of the vice-regal city. Other of Mr. Simmons' strictures are however as applicable to Madras or any other Indian city as to Calcutta. Such for example are his remarks on the Indian baker and the habits and abodes of our servants, which are by no means pleasant reading.

If such societies as the Health Society of Calcutta were established in all large towns, we believe much good would result. The public, and especially the native public, needs enlightening on these subjects, and Mr. Simmons has given us a good example of how sanitary science may be popularized.

The Pariah Caste in Travancore, by S. MATEER, F.L.S. Re-printed from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

In this short paper we have a vast amount of most interesting matter compressed into very small compass. Mr. Mateer discusses the origin of the Pariahs, the various ceremonies connected with birth, marriage and death, and the traditions prevalent among them; and then describes their habits of life from personal observation and intercourse. There are, he tells us, 63,688 of these Pariahs in Travancore, of whom only 192 males and no females can read. Their general condition is very similar to that of other so-called "slave-castes" though perhaps not quite so low.

'They were formerly bought and sold like cattle, starved, flogged "like buffaloes," made to work all day for a little rice, and kept at a distance as polluted; and they are still in a position of subservience and deep degradation, not vitally differing from that of the Pulayars and Vedars. Rarely possessed of any property but a small clearing to which their rights have never been legally secured, they are employed principally in field-labour, with wretched dress, dwellings and food, no manufactures of any value, suffering from ignorance and evil habits of drunkenness and vice, and devoted to demonism and sorcery.'

English History Sheets: being a complete Synopsis of all the important events in the History of England: with Tables of Battles, &c. by T. E. Slater (Late Examiner in History, University of Madras.) Madras: Addison & Co., 1885. Price 6 annas.

It is the fashion now-a-days to run down what is called 'cram' in study and to condemn by a free use of this convenient epithet every attempt to assist memory. This is however neither fair nor wise. There are many subjects—and of these history is perhaps the chief—in which memory needs every adventitious aid that can be given it. We therefore welcome the little book before us. It would be useless as a text-book of history but side by side with the usual text-books it may be of great assistance, not to matriculation students only, but to all who are seeking to obtain a clear and orderly comprehension of the leading facts of English History.

"Events" says the author in his preface "are here narrated in the fewest words, and nothing unimportant is introduced; while the relative importance of events is marked by different kinds of type. Landmarks and leading names will at once arrest attention. The arrangement of matter on distinct sheets, so as to bring a complete period or reign before the eye at a glance, is a distinguishing feature of the work; while the analytical form in which the subjects is presented will help recollection."

The idea is a good one and is well worked out; and we have no doubt that the *Sheets* will be found useful both by students and teachers.

Euclid: Books I—III, with Notes and Exercises. By John Adam, M. A., Principal, Pacheappa's College, Madras. Madras: V. J. Manickavaloo Moodelliar & Co. 1885. Price one rupee.

We have already noticed the first part of this book and commented on its characteristic features, so that little remains to be done except to congratulate its author on the rapidity with which he has brought out the remaining parts and the success which the work has already attained. As most teachers know, this edition of Euclid has been recommended by the Director of Public Instruction as the text book for the Middle School Examination, and if it was necessary to prescribe any book on such a subject as this we think the Director has made a wise choice. The type and diagrams are clear and accurate, the notes are useful and the price is low.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS.

We are glad to be able to announce the appointment of Mr. J. R. Henderson, M. B. (Edin.), F. L. S., to a Professorship of Biology in the Madras

Christian College. This is, we believe, the first Professorship of Biology established in India. Mr. Henderson had a very brilliant career in the University of Edinburgh, where he gained, amongst other honours in natural science, the Dobbie Smith gold medal. For some time he has been engaged as Zoologist at the Scottish Marine Station, Edinburgh, and he is now occupied in classifying and describing the Anomura collected during the *Challenger* Expedition. He is expected to arrive in Madras early in January.

In his recent speech before the general assembly of the Free Church, the Rev. Dr Miller thus referred to the results of the Education Commission:—

"The labours of that body have already secured in part, and will, I am confident, secure more and more completely as years pass by, that the influence of Government will be on the side of and not opposed to those who aim at spreading the benefits of education throughout India. It is within reasonable hope now that there will be a fair field for the educational efforts not of our missions only, but of all missions; and not of missions and missionaries alone, but of all who honestly endeavour to diffuse knowledge and enlightenment of any kind over that great but darkened land. And it is this—a fair field for all and no favour—that the friends of India and the friends of Christian truth should most of all desire. Let that only be secured and there need be no fear that sooner or later, by the blessing of the Most High, the living truth will win its way, so that every kind of education and every form of knowledge will become a channel through which the sweet influences of the Spirit will spread widely and prevail.

"And it should not be forgotten that if this fair field for every form of honest effort for the spread of knowledge be secured now, it will be secured for the first time since Western education began to take root in India. Nor should it be forgotten that for the successful issue of our contest, and for the hopes which it is now reasonable to cherish for the future, we are indebted, under God, to the Viceroy who left India a few months ago, carrying with him the affectionate remembrance of all intelligent men among the natives of the country—a ruler concerning whom it must be said, whatever view may be taken as to the wisdom of all the measures he introduced, that he has left an enduring name behind him; that he has won for himself more sympathy and affection than perhaps any Englishman ever gained in these lands before; and has, at all events, paved the way for a healthier social life and greater moral progress than has marked till now the history of the Empire of Britain in the East."

After a brief sketch of the history of the Madras Christian College during the past seven years, showing the immense growth of the institution during that period, and the efforts that have been and are being made by the Council to meet the demands made upon them, Dr Miller went on:—

"But while I lay no stress at all upon the mere number of students or

size of classes, there are circumstances in which things of this kind may become profoundly significant. And it appears to me that our circumstances are of this description. It is significant that such unexampled popularity should be enjoyed in a heathen land, while the element of religious instruction, of plain, straightforward Scripture teaching, has been always held essential both in theory and practice. On that point there has never been any hesitation or uncertainty. To that portion of our course the foremost place has been always given. And that being so, the crowded condition of our class-rooms becomes a telling proof that truth—Christian truth—has begun to take hold on the inner life of the community, and to influence that life towards issues which cannot be fully seen as yet."

For the future prosperity of this work Dr Miller points out that three things are needed. (1) Its continuance in full vigour by the maintenance of an adequate staff; (2) The co-operation of other Christian bodies; and (3) The fuller development of what is commonly known as "evangelistic" work alongside the college. On the last of these Dr. Miller remarks.—

"I do not indeed admit the accuracy of the ordinary phrase. To me it seems that the College, as it is, is evangelistic in the very best and highest sense. If to inculcate truth and righteousness, to point out in detail what the living God has done in all ages for sinful man, to teach with one's utmost power and insight the significance of what was said and done and suffered by the one Redeemer—if to do this day by day and month by month be not "evangelistic," I can form no notion of what the word ought to mean or can mean. But one need not dispute about a word. Undoubtedly there is need, and urgent need, that more should be done than it has hitherto been found possible to do in following up those whom the College has sent forth with minds impregnated with Christian truth, and principles very largely moulded by Christian thought, but reluctant still to cast in their lot with Christ's Church upon the earth. This work is not indeed undone, or, at all events, it is not unattempted. But struggling, as the few labourers have always been, with a work which is too large to overtake, and to which they yet feel themselves to be primarily called, it certainly is true that this further work never has been done, and is not being done now, with the persistence, or on the scale, which its importance most urgently demands. And yet until it is done effectually and persistently—done with calmest thought and entire devotion to this one sphere of labour—the work of our College and our schools will never be appreciated as it deserves, and never can produce its full effect. One blade of a pair of scissors is very inconvenient for cutting by itself. There must be the two blades apparently opposing, but really helping one another. Thus it is and must always be with educational and so called *evangelistic* work. With us in Madras the former is developed largely; the latter, through the want of men to make it their especial sphere, but imperfectly as yet. The latter must be made proportionate to the former if either is to bear the fruit for which every earnest Christian heart is longing."

Dewan Bahadur R. Ragoonath Row has sent us the following remarks upon an Article on the Marriage Law in the *Indian Evangelical Review* for April last:—

According to the doctrine of the orthodox Hindu, anything not consistent with the revealed Hindu law must be productive of harm to the Hindu in particular, and to the people generally. With the best of intentions, when the British Indian Government enacted laws affecting the Hindus and modifying the principles of the Hindu law, the orthodox Hindu prophesied that these laws would prove harmful. I have already pointed out how the Hindu Widow Marriage Act, with the Act for the Abolition of Suttee, has been working to the injury of the Hindu nation in general, and of the 21 millions of women in particular. In the *Indian Evangelical Review* for May 1885, a series of cases of extreme hardship are reported, and all of them have their origin in the statute laws above referred to. At last a number of Christian missionaries, with a large flock of their congregations, have borne evidence to the fact that serious evils have been caused by one of the statute laws over-riding one of the principles of the Hindu law, this principle being that apostacy from religion is tantamount to death, and that between husband and wife it is a cause for complete divorce between them. In attempting to ignore this principle of the Hindu law, the British Indian Legislature has unwittingly brought misery on a large portion of the Christian subjects of Her Majesty the Empress of India. The following extracts from the said journal will show what I mean.

"Extracts from a letter from the Secretary appointed by the Decennial Conference of Missionaries, enclosing 53 petitions, all praying for a re-consideration of the Indian Marriage and Divorce Laws.

"2. Complaints are very general in regard to portions of these laws as injuriously affecting various parties in various ways, and also in some respects not favorable to public and private morals. But the grievances especially complained of affect Protestant Native Christian females married in childhood in Hinduism and Islamism, and who, on account of their becoming Christians, or for some other reason, have been outcasted, neglected and set aside by their husbands in the interest of other wives, but are yet unable, on account of the present state of the law, to contract new matrimonial alliances, even though they never gave any intelligent consent to their Hindu or Mussulman marriage at the time of its celebration nor afterwards by cohabitation.

"3. Protestant Native Christian females suffering from the above difficulties are now compelled either to live lives of enforced celebacy, or . . . to live as husbands and wives without the hallowing influence of the laws of the land sanctioning their doing so.

"4. . . . Marriages of outcasted widowed and superseded Hindu females were legalised by ancient Hindu law, and are still regarded as legal among the lower castes of Hindus. In asking for relief for such females it will thus be seen that nothing new or strange is asked, nothing but what has been given to such women by ancient Hindu law and by modern law . . in accord with the Christian Marriage laws of the New Testament.

"5. The universality of the desire that something should be done with the view of giving relief to the sufferers from the Marriage and Divorce laws of India, may be seen from the unanimity with which the Decennial Conference of Protestant Missionaries held in Calcutta in the beginning of 1883, the largest Conference of the kind ever held, appointed a committee to prosecute the matter; the unanimity with which the Presbyterian Alliance of India petitioned on the same subject; the nature of many of the accompanying petitions, such as that from the Bengal Church Council, representing six thousand Native Christians; and many of the other petitions to which will be found

appended the names of only the more prominent members of the Mission or community sending them, and who have signed as representatives of the rest."

The Missionaries add :—

"To Christians suffering these hardships, and having no legal remedy, the alternatives of living an enforced celebate life, or an immoral or illegal life, are most trying and unjust. There is a great temptation to conceal or to misrepresent, or else openly to disregard the relations constituted between them by the ceremonies of childhood. To a clergyman the option of sometimes allowing adulterous connections to be formed, or of solemnizing a true marriage of which reason and his religion heartily approve, is most trying. It is not fair to put men in a position in which they must choose between obedience to the claims of morality or obedience to the civil laws. Moreover, the danger to the welfare and good order of the family and the State from immorality and illegality is great."

The Missionaries observe further :—

"Moreover in some of the cases which we now present, though all the parties to the contract mutually desire to disregard it, they are unable to do so legally. At the third general council of the reformed churches holding the Presbyterian system held in Belfast in July 1884, the matter was discussed, and the following are from their Proceedings: 'The greatest evils in the social system of India are those connected with child marriages and polygamy on the one hand, and enforced widowhood on the other."

It will be seen that my request to Government to revive particular principles of Hindu law will contribute to the happiness of not only the orthodox Hindu, but also that of Protestant Native Christians. I therefore entertain very strong hopes that His Excellency, Lord Dufferin, will take up the matter and, after satisfying himself that the revival of the aforesaid principles of the Hindu law and the repeal of the statute laws opposed to them is required for the good of the Hindu, Christian and to some extent, Mahomedan subjects of the British Empire, will see his way to redress the prime grievances. The only two principles that require to be revived and re-enacted, are :—

(1) That consummation creates civil rights in a couple.

(2) That apostacy and death of either of the couple, or unchastity in a widow puts an end to the relationship of husband and wife, and dissolves their marriage, and deprives the widow of her right to continue to enjoy her husband's property.

These two principles have the sanction not only of the Hindu law, but also of reason, expediency, morality and happiness of the subjects. By upholding these principles as legal, and by passing a new enactment to that effect, no charge of aggressive legislation can be fairly brought against any Government. Among the Aryans, unchastity in widows is considered to disentitle the offender from taking part in any social or religious ceremonies, for the performance of which alone she is allowed to possess her husband's estate. An unchaste widow is considered to be a living corpse considered entitled to mere sustenance.

According to the true principles of Hindu law, a widow is simply the trustee for the next male heir of her husband, provided she undertakes to perform such ceremonies as are prescribed for the benefit of the manes of her husband. The moment she becomes polluted, she is rendered unfit to perform those ceremonies. The reason of her trusteeship being lost, she loses her right to continue trustee to her husband's estate. The Hindu law permits her

to continue in the trust even after second marriage. For says Manu (chap. IX.)—

"If the widow of a man, who died without a son, raise up a son to him by one of his kinsmen, let her deliver to that son, at his full age, the collected estate of the deceased, whatever it be." (190.)

"If two sons, begotten by two successive husbands who are both dead, contend for their property, then in the hands of their mother, let each take, exclusive of the other, his own Father's estate." (191.)

"Thus the law sanctifies a second marriage while it denounces unchastity in a woman. The British courts, however, now hold that unchastity is no ground for removing her from the trust, though a second marriage should deprive her of her husband's property or the estate of her husband which may have devolved upon her, should she legally take another husband. By reviving the principles of Hindu law on the subject as proposed above, this anomaly would be removed, morality encouraged, and immorality checked. That the benevolent Father of the universe may move the majority of my countrymen to implore the British Government for the revival of these principles of Hindu law is my fervent prayer.

It appears that the Government of India have called upon the Madras Government to obtain and submit Hindu public opinion on the subject of child marriage and enforced widowhood in connection with a paper written by my friend Mr. Malabari of Bombay. This requisition on this Government was made many months ago, and I know that some of the Hindu gentlemen called upon by the Madras Government to submit their views have forwarded their opinions to Government. Whether the Government have submitted their Proceedings on the subject to the Government of India is not yet known. If they have, it would be a boon to the cause to publish the Government Proceedings for the information of the Hindu public.

No subject has received more attention from the native papers of North India during the last month than the sad end of Tincowry Pal, who on August 12th suffered the severest penalty of the law for the murder of Kusum Kaur, a girl of ill fame in Calcutta. We need not enter into the details of this sad case, they will be familiar to the majority of our readers. Many circumstances combine to render it peculiarly distressing. The youth of the culprit, who was under twenty, the many advantages of education and position which he enjoyed, the respectability and credit of the family to which he belonged, and, most of all, the hopeless misery and shame brought upon his young wife—a girl of fifteen—and his child, born, we believe, while its father was under trial—these considerations, while on the one hand they serve only to increase the guilt of the murderer, yet on the other they almost make us wish that Mr. Rivers Thompson had listened to the memorial presented on the prisoner's behalf, and exercised the prerogative of mercy which the law vests in him. But we agree with the Lieut.-Governor that this was impossible. The crime was, in the words of the Judge who presided at the trial, "as in-

human a murder as had ever been perpetrated," and the appeals of the prisoner himself, and of the native community on his behalf, were not calculated to influence the government towards mercy. The first was based upon a declaration of innocence, and the second upon either wilful misrepresentation or culpable ignorance of the facts of the case. Justice was therefore allowed to take its course. While we pity those who must bear through life, in shame and sorrow, the chief penalty of another's crime, we can but "trust that somehow good may be the final goal of ill," and that this terrible example of the end of vice may deter thousands of our youth from listening to the voice of her "whose slain are a mighty host," whose "house inclineth unto death, and her paths unto the dead."

We have touched upon this terrible tragedy because of the wider subject to which it leads—vice amongst our young men. It is a subject this upon which it is always easiest and pleasantest to be silent. But silence sometimes is criminal, and we should feel that we fell short of our duty to those for whom chiefly this magazine exists if we failed to press upon their consciences the lessons which this sad event should teach. These lessons we hardly need to draw. They lie upon the surface. The utter uselessness of mental refinement and culture without moral culture also, the powerlessness of education alone to purify the emotions and the heart, the short step between vice regarded by many as venal and crime of the most dastardly nature, and, most of all, the terrible power of vice, *this* vice especially, to destroy all self-control and every manly and noble attribute and to "drown men in destruction and perdition." These are the lessons which, more than all others, need in these days to be laid to heart.

One good result which the excitement consequent on the Tincowry Pal conviction has already produced is the formation of an association for the promotion of purity amongst the students of Calcutta, or as more than one of the native papers significantly call it, an association for the protection of young men. In this we rejoice, for it is high time that in India as elsewhere that cloak of vice, mock prudery, should be thrown aside and this great and growing evil boldly faced. We are not dead to the dangers of the course we advocate. Peril is sometimes rendered greater by the light that reveals it. The expression of opinion may sometimes promote the very evils it is invoked to destroy. But no danger could be greater than that which now exists in Calcutta and other of our great cities, and which menaces all that is best in our young men. And if the youths who come up from the country to seek education in our Colleges are to be exposed to the peril of continual temptation we are bound to do all we can, directly and indirectly, to preserve them from it. If the association inaugurated recently at the General Assembly's Institution, Calcutta, and of which a large number of influential European and Native gentleman have become members, had been inaugurated six years ago, we have little doubt that many a hopeful life would

have been saved from an untimely end or worse. For many years past a distinct and definite attack has been made upon the morals of Calcutta students. "Tincowry Pal," a contemporary remarks, "murdered his victim in College Street, where our best educational institutions are, and that street is infested on both sides with houses where scores of girls like Kusum live and ply their deadly trade in perfect security. We believe there are similar establishments within a few yards of the Genl. Assembly's and Free Church Institutions. The Oriental Seminary is in the thick of such a neighbourhood. The London Missionaries' Institution at Bhowanipur has had to cope with the like evil."* Such a state of things would work infinite injury even in an English city where most youths would at least have the protection of a pure and attractive home life. But in an Indian City, where there is, even for those most happily situated, hardly any such protection, and where the vast majority of students live in poor and unattractive lodgings, the surroundings of which drive them,—as the climate draws them—out of doors, the results are bound to be disastrous in the extreme. It is this homelessness (in the truest, if not the most literal sense) of the Calcutta student that has made the Beadon Street theatres a success, on the boards of which the best youth of the city perform side by side with women of the streets, who are apparently the only females employed. These theatres have long been nurseries of vice and yet they have been widely patronized by the parents and friends of students, and have been winked at by all. A few earnest voices, it is true, have never been weary of uttering words of warning, but so far nothing has been done. Those most interested in the welfare of the student have been either apathetic or dismayed. But the events of the last month have raised a vast wave of indignant virtue which we trust will gather strength as it flows till, by police intervention or special municipal enactment, it sweeps away these dens of infamy, and by purifying the streets protects the young and innocent from the continual solicitations of vice.

That is, however, but a part of the work which the association should set itself. A reform must be something more than merely destructive. No association can in a year, or a generation, change the homes of the people, and so long as the youth of India look outside their homes for the chief pleasures of their lives it will not be enough to sweep and garnish the neighbourhood in which they live. Something must be substituted for the demoralizing pleasures in which they now indulge. If homes could be established in greater number for boys from the country; libraries and reading rooms, to be open all the evening, started in connection with schools and colleges, and in other central places; and lectures and debates promoted, of such a character as to be generally attractive, much

* *The Young Man*, Aug. 16, 1885, p. 4.

would be done. And these agencies would also be a means of cultivating purer tastes, as well as of rousing benevolence and public spirit—two deadly enemies of sensual indulgence.

But after all this would merely touch the fringe of the evil. The cancer lies deeper than the streets. It shoots its roots into the very homes and worship of the people. We have said that many native papers speak of the association as one for the protection of *young men*. At the present moment a vast and beneficent agitation is proceeding in England for the protection of *girls*. This points to a fundamental difference between the two countries. Widespread and terrible as the destruction of innocence in England may be, it is *hidden* and needs a Commission to expose it. And the secrecy and hypocrisy which hide it are the tribute of vice to virtue, and are themselves a proof of the true feeling of the people. Not so in India. Vice flaunts openly before our eyes and receives the sanction of religion. The temples are its abodes. With whatever sophistries a shrewd brahman may gloss it over, the fact in all its hideous abomination still remains—abandoned women dance before his gods, and are brought into his house to celebrate the birth of his son and grace the marriage of his daughter. Girls are dedicated to the profession of vice from their infancy, and, though their life is not considered honourable, yet the existence of troops of such girls is regarded as a religious necessity. They are often married to the stone idols of the temples and become the common property of the temple priests. While under the sacred name of religion the marriage bond is thus debased—while the marriage of a girl to a plantain tree is held to make prostitution sinless—while these things, we say, prevail it is useless to hope for any high standard of morality amongst the vast bulk of our young men. Their moral sense is often hopelessly perverted by the sights and associations of their childhood, and as they grow up, their mothers, naturally prone to judge leniently what is sanctioned and sanctified by religion, too often condone or even smile upon their vices. Our Hindu readers know well that in all this we are speaking but bare truth, and we of South India have little need to throw stones at them of the North. Madras itself may not be so bad as Calcutta—we are glad to think it is much better—but there are towns in South India that are as bad or worse. This vice and its handmaid drunkenness are—if universal report speaks truly—eating out the heart and life of the youth of one at least of these.

We are glad to know that these things lie heavily on the minds of many cultured and prominent Hindu gentlemen. Our present plain speech is due in part to the earnest words of some of these. Why then do not such unite, and, to the extent of their own influence at least, discountenance every custom that sets its approval on vice? Let them endeavour to create, by both example and precept, an enlightened opinion

on this subject. It should be borne in mind that practices which may have been comparatively harmless a hundred years ago are not so now. The moral restraints of Hinduism are fast passing away. The spread of enlightenment and the growth of activity and individual independence have formed a vast seed-bed for the germs of vice, which, if suffered to grow, will produce a terrible harvest of moral dissolution. The remedy is chiefly in the hands of parents. Let them close their doors at all times to the priestesses of vice, and preserve their sons by every means in their power from contact with pollution. Let those societies which work for the revival of Hinduism, seek chiefly to revive ancient Hindu purity, and to make the temples no longer the homes of sin. Then all true lovers of India will be on their side, for not till religion ceases to honour and embrace it, will the vice that is daily ruining a large section of young India become to all a hateful and shameful thing.

But much may be done even without this reform to save individuals from the pit of degradation which a corrupt religion digs for them. And in the absence of an elevating home influence—a blessing, as we have said, enjoyed by comparatively few--the responsibility devolves, first on educationists and then on all men of public spirit. The youth of the country must not be left to drift to ruin unwarned and uncared for. And warning alone will not do, and in itself it is often undesirable and even hurtful. Let more be done to fill with innocent and useful pleasures the hours of recreation. And this may be done everywhere and done in many ways. By physical training and field sports, cricketing, boating, lawn-tennis and the like, as well as by attractive entertainments, and the circulation of a pure literature in the ways we have recommended to the Calcutta Association. Here is a platform on which all may unite, and on which every virtuous and public spirited man may do good work. In addition to these agencies, courses of lectures might with great advantage be given by Hindu gentlemen on the duties of a man and a citizen, the moralities of life, and the duties and privileges of the family and the home. Youth needs to be inspired by high ideals as well as endowed with high acquirements. Such efforts will never be in vain, for the generosity and enthusiasm of youth makes it more open to good than to evil. It is only in the dearth of such influences that its life finds vent in the excitements of vice. If by these means we can rouse in the best of our young men an enthusiasm for truth, honour, virtue, and patriotism, they will be a leaven of righteousness in the land.

SCIENCE JOTTINGS.

A new alloy which seems likely to prove of considerable value has recently been introduced under the name of Platinoid. It is an alloy of

copper, nickel and zinc with from 1 to 2 per cent. of tungsten. When polished it is with difficulty distinguished from silver and it has in a very remarkable degree the power of resisting the tarnishing influence of the air of a large town. To electricians it is likely to prove specially useful as a material for making resistance coils. Its specific resistance is about one-and-a-half times that of German-silver while the change of resistance with change of temperature is even less than in the case of German-silver.

The observations on under ground temperatures made at the Bombay observatory are of considerable interest. Five thermometers are employed at depths of 1, 9, 20, 60 and 132 inches. The first two are observed five times a day while the other three show no diurnal variation, and so are read only once a day. At depths of 1 and 9 inches the monthly minima and maxima occurred in December and May, but at the depth of 132 inches these phases were delayed till March and July. No actual measurements of the conductivity of the soil can be made till the errors of the earth thermometers have been accurately determined.

At the annual meeting of the Royal Society of New South Wales Mr. H. C. Russell gave an interesting account of a series of observations which he had made for the purpose of determining whether or not there was any change going on in the relative levels of the sea and land. The results were entirely negative but in carrying out the work it occurred to him to put a self-registering tide gauge on Lake George and this has yielded a number of most remarkable curves. The surface of the lake is almost constantly in motion and similar phenomena to those observed by M. Vaucher on the lake of Geneva are frequently recorded. Thus, for instance, on the 14th of April the lake which had been very still for three days was suddenly thrown into a state of oscillation, apparently by the passage of a thunderstorm across it. In 30 minutes the gauge indicated a rise of 4 inches, then in 15 minutes it had fallen to its old level. and passing this fell two inches more, then began to rise again, so starting a series of pulsations which lasted for five days. Similar motions though probably on a much smaller scale seem to take place in the Red Hills Lake, but there they seem to be due chiefly to wind, even a light breeze removing the water from one end and piling it up at the other. How far the water was piled up by the cyclone last year is not accurately known but the actual rise of the water as a whole against the part of the bund which breached seems to have had much to do with the catastrophe.

An important paper on the removal of micro-organisms from water by

Dr. Percy F. Frankland was read before the Royal Society on June 18th. Amongst other things he showed that filtration through green-sand, coke, animal charcoal and spongy iron removed all the organisms, but after a month this power was in all cases lost. The improvement still effected by spongy iron and coke was, however, even then, very great, while the number of organisms in water that had been filtered through animal charcoal was greater than in the unfiltered water. The following table gives some idea of the relative efficiency of various filtering materials.

	No. of organisms in 1c.c. of water.	
	Before filtration.	After filtration.
Coke	3,112	732
Do. (after 5 weeks) ...	5,932	86
Animal charcoal ...	very numerous.	0
Do. (after 12 days) ...	2,792	0
Do. (—— 1 month) ...	1,281	6,958
Spongy iron	80	0
Do. (after 12 days) ...	2,792	0
Do. (—— 1 month) ...	1,281	2

A very important addition to our knowledge of African Geography has been made by the Rev. G. Grenfell, who has just returned from an exploration of the river Mobangi. This river enters the right bank of the Congo between 26′ and 42′ S. lat., and forms a large delta. It is probably the largest tributary of the Congo for, even in lat 4°23′ N, it was found to be 673 yards wide, its mean depth was 25 feet, and it flowed with a current of from 80 to 100 feet per minute. It is navigable for 400 or 450 miles, and must prove one of the most useful paths for opening up the very fertile regions lying between the basins of the Congo and the Nile. The question of where such a volume of water comes from has yet to be decided, but Mr. Grenfell is of opinion that the Mobangi is the lower part of the Welle, though Stanley has supposed that the latter was connected with the Aruwimi.

A curious phenomenon was to be seen a short time ago on the Clyde, a few hundred yards below Bothwell bridge, where gas bubbling up from the bed of the river had caught fire and was burning in a flame which at times was four or five feet high. The gas no doubt comes from decomposing oil shales below the bed of the river and resembles the so-called "natural gas" with which at least one American town is illuminated.

The British Association met yesterday, (September 9th) in Aberdeen under the Presidency of the Right Honourable Lyon Playfair. There is every prospect of the meeting being a very interesting one. Dr. Armstrong, the President of the chemical section, has arranged for two discussions which should prove valuable. One is on the determination of the molecular weights of solid and liquid bodies, the other on electrolysis—both very important subjects.

Early last month the protracted period of midsummer heat in the United States was broken by a series of very heavy rains accompanied by violent cyclones. In Chicago the rainfall amounted to 5½ inches in twelve hours, an almost unprecedented amount there. One of the cyclones took its rise in Maryland and passed northward along the border of Philadelphia wrecking houses and mills and destroying cattle and crops in Maryland and Delaware. Five lives were lost, six persons are missing and at least one hundred were injured. Six hundred buildings were unroofed and even the walls were in many cases blown down, railway carriages were blown off the lines and in one case a horse and waggon on board a steamer were lifted up and dropped into the river. The damage is estimated at half a million dollars. American cyclones differ from Indian ones in being more concentrated. Their diameter is much less while their violence is much greater. They resemble the "North Westers" of Bengal rather than the regular cyclones of this part of India.

A curious electrical phenomenon is reported in *Nature*. The writer with three companions was standing at the head of his avenue when a feebly luminous flash was seen on the avenue some thirty yards off. The flash ran along the ground enveloping the observers who experienced a shock as from a leyden jar. A peal of thunder was heard some three minutes after. This is interesting as giving an illustration from close quarters of what frequently is seen at a distance in the clouds. We have often seen a glow electrical discharge run along the edge of a cloud, the rate of motion being rapid but not too rapid to be followed by the eye. Such a discharge undoubtedly corresponds with the well known brush discharge seen when a pointed conductor is brought near the prime conductor of an electric machine, and though this form of discharge has not yet been generally recognized by meteorologists there can be no doubt, we believe, that much of what is termed sheet lightning is due to it.

Henry Milne-Edwards the distinguished French Naturalist died on the 29th of July at the age of 85. He studied medicine in Belgium and paris and took his diploma in 1823, but the study of Natural History so

fascinated him that it soon drew him entirely away from the practice of medicine. Early distinguishing himself by his work on some marine forms of life he was appointed Professor of Natural History in the Collége Royal de Henry IV., in 1841. His "Eléments de Zoologie" published in 1834 and re-issued in 1851 as a "Cours élémentaire de Zoologie" had an immense circulation in France and was translated into several languages. Many of his contributions to Science were of great value and earned for him the position of a leader in his own subject, though in later life his unwillingness to fully accept the teaching of Darwin left him somewhat behind in the recent developments of Zoology. His son Alphonse succeeded him in his professorship some years ago.

The forecast which Mr. Blanford made this year regarding the nature of the monsoon—based on his theory of the influence of the Himalayan snowfall—was to the effect, first, that both branches of the monsoon current would fall rather below their normal strength, but that the Bay of Bengal current would be stronger than the Bombay branch; secondly, that the Bombay branch would be later than usual; thirdly, that the rainfall would be decidedly deficient over the Punjab and Rajpootana and to a smaller extent over the North-Western and Central Provinces; fourthly, that Western and Central Bengal, Bombay, Berars and Central India would receive a rainfall nearly but not quite equal to the average; fifthly, that the branch to Assam, Cachar, and Eastern and Northern Bengal would give heavier rain than usual. The following table in which the mean rainfall at the stations sending daily weather reports for the various provinces is given shows to what extent the forecast has proved true.

	Number of Stations.	Rainfall.					
		June.		June and July.		June July and August.	
		Average.	Actual.	Average.	Actual.	Average.	Actual.
Punjab ...	11	2·44	2·01	9·88	6·02	16·58	14·61
N. W. Provinces and Oudh ...	12	4·96	6·27	19·14	21·64	31·15	39·12
Assam ..	3	20·29	19·54	37·41	40·13	52·92	50·05
Bengal ...	12	11·99	9·78	27·67	24·33	42·60	41·66
Central Provinces..	8	8·37	13·66	24·80	30·19	37·12	40·01
Berars ...	2	5·94	6·34	14·08	15·99	21·08	20·08
Central India ...	3	5·45	5·04	17·95	15·35	27·99	24·81
Rajputana ...	3	3·02	3·93	16·50	7·61	28·10	24·21
Bombay ...	15	11·53	6·44	26·27	19·73	33·56	29·08
Madras ...	16	7·01	8·43	14·14	16·24	20·46	20·45
Mysore and Coorg.	2	14·54	22·13	37·81	39·40	53·60	54·52
Colombo ...	1	7·51	18·56	12·91	22·99	17·69	25·62
British Burma ...	6	24·78	26·79	52·35	56·46	76·38	91·04

C. M. S.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

The *Quarterly Review* contains an interesting article based upon Sir James Stephen's recent work,—*The story of Nuncomar and the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey.* Sir James' two ponderous volumes are, we fear, not likely to be widely read. Few in these busy days can afford to give the requisite time to a subject that subtends so small an angle of the historical retina. But the article before us can be read in an hour, and those who can find time to read Macaulay's scathing diatribes ought not to grudge an hour to set their history right. It is due to the influence of Macaulay, to his dramatic power and matchless rhetoric, that to the majority of English readers Elijah Impey stands out as a type of "the unjust judge." Misled by Mill and Burke, and having himself made no attempt to investigate their charges, Macaulay used all the resources of his eloquence to brand Impey with infamy by representing him as embodying every vice that can mar personal character or corrupt the bench. That Macaulay succeeded in this is but too true, and the defence of his father which the younger Impey put forward fell dead from the press, and is now almost entirely forgotten.

The chief charge against Impey is connected with the trial and condemnation of Nuncomar on a charge of forgery, in which he is represented as having been in collusion with the Governor-General and of having condemned the prisoner on a trumped-up charge, unsupported by sufficient evidence. In Burke's phrase "Hastings murdered Nuncomar by the hand of Impey." Into this question Mr. Justice Stephen goes at length. He shows that the charge against Nuncomar had been made in the Mayor's Court before the institution of the Supreme Court of Justice and that on the establishment of the latter the prosecutors lost no time in bringing the charge up again. Sir James enters fully into the evidence for and against the prisoner, and especially into Sir Elijah Impey's conduct of the trial. He shows how every advantage that the law allows was given to the prisoner and how throughout the Chief Justice was eminently just and fair. With regard to his summing up of the case in charging the Jury, Sir James emphatically declares that he did not utter a single word that in like circumstances he would have been ashamed to utter himself. The last sentences of this charge are well worth quoting:–

"You will consider," said Sir Elijah Impey, "on which side the weight of evidence lies, always remembering that in criminal, and more especially in capital cases, you must not weigh the evidence in golden scales; there ought to be a great difference of weight in the opposite scale before you find the prisoner guilty. In cases of property the stake on each side is equal; but in a capital case, as there can be nothing of equal value to life, you should be thoroughly convinced that there does not remain a possibility of innocence before you give a verdict against the prisoner. . . . . .
You will again and again consider the character of the prosecutor and his witnesses, the distance of the prosecution from the time the offence is supposed to be committed, the proof of the nature of the confessions said to be made by the prisoner, his rank and fortune. These are all reasons to prevent your giving hasty and precipitate belief to the charge brought against him; but if you believe the facts sworn against him to be true, they cannot alter the nature of the facts themselves. Your sense of justice and your own feelings will not allow you to convict the prisoner unless your consciences are fully satisfied beyond all doubt of his guilt. If they are not, you will bring that verdict which from the dictates of humanity you will be inclined to give; but should your consciences be convinced of his being guilty, no consideration, I am sure, will prevail on you not to give a verdict according to your oaths."

"That Lord Macaulay can possibly have read the summing-up" says the Reviewer "we have too great a respect for his honesty to fancy for a moment possible." His knowledge of it was doubtless derived from the articles of Impeachment from which he would learn that "the chief Justice became in effect the advocate of the prosecution" and "summed up the evidence with the most gross and scandalous partiality, manifesting

throughout the whole proceeding an evident wish and determined purpose to effect the ruin and death" of Nuncomar. Macaulay was too ready to believe the worst, and, without examination of the charges brought, lent the full vigour of his pen to what is now clearly proved to have been an unrighteous and cruel cause.

"Ever since that time Impey's fate has been a sad one. The generous motives of a thousand hearts have been stirred to indignation at his name, his infamy has resounded wherever the English tongue is spoken. It is painful to think that the herald of this underserved disgrace should have been Macaulay. To some extent no doubt we can accept Sir James Stephen's good natured excuse that:—'Slightly to adapt the famous remarks of De Quincey, in his essay on "Murder as a Fine Art" Impey has owed his moral ruin to a literary murder, of which Macaulay probably thought but little when he committed it.' Yet this will not altogether suffice for his defence. A book, so pathetic, so heart-rending in the sincerity of its clumsy efforts to vindicate the fame of a father, and to strike back at the defamer, as is the younger Impey's Memoir ought to have made Macaulay resolve to test and re-test his charges once more. It would have been a wrong to historic sincerity, and even to public morality, to have suppressed one worl of blame had these charges again been proved true, but it was cruel before the evident affliction of the son not to have re-investigated them and to have given Impey another chance of being cleared. We know now what the result of such re-investigation must have been. Impey must have been acquitted and Lord Macaulay instead of losing any of the lustre of his fame, would himself have enjoyed the supreme satisfaction of saving from re-proach and infamy the fair name and reputation of an innocent and honorable man."

The same Review contains two other excellent and readable historical articles; one on Pitt's Foreign Policy, and the other on the Electress Sophia. In "The first ChristianCouncil (A.D. 50)" we have an attack upon the revisers of the New Testament which, if we are not mistaken, is by no means the first from the same quarter. In substance it is an attack upon the change of a single text—Acts. XV. 23., where "The apostles and elders and brethren" gives place to "The Apostles and the Elder brethren"—a change almost universally approved by critics. Under the title "The Gladstone Ministry: A Retrospect," the late Ministers are very cleverly, and not altogether unfairly, made to condemn themselves.

The current number of the *Westminster Review* contains several interesting and valuable articles. Amongst these we notice especially one on British North America, entitled "The growth of Colonial England," and a pleasant account of the growth and present position of Girton College (for women) at Cambridge. Another on "The Weakness of Russia" deserves to be widely read. It is not, as might be expected, an account of the Russian army, but a discussion of the domestic government of the country, based on M. Stepniak's recent work. The weakness of Russia consists in the total disagreement between the character and aspirations of the Russian people and the schemes of the autocratic government. Long ago Mr. Cobden declared that, having travelled in Russia, he was convinced that as far as its people went it was "without exception the most pacific nation on the face of the earth." M. Stepniak seems to agree with him, and holds that the destruction of Russian despotism would constitute Russia a guarantee of peace in Eastern Europe. For the benefit of all Russophilists we may quote as a fair specimen of the principles which guide the internal economy of that great Empire, the following account of what M. Stepniak calls "the crusade against culture":—

"The Tzar Nicolas, in order, as he hoped, to counteract the pernicious effects of liberal culture, organized the Universities like battalions, and lecture in the class-room was followed by drill in the square. Knowledge he regarded as a social bane, and military discipline as its only antidote. Russian Universities are centres of political life, and the students are therefore looked upon by the Government as a dark and dangerous power hostile to the laws and institutions of the realm.

"A meeting of several students in the rooms of one of their number draws immediate attention, and gives rise to exaggerated fears. The porters and even the proprietors of the rooms, are bound on their peril to give prompt information

of the fact to the police, by whom such meetings are often dispersed. Besides being practically forbidden to enjoy each other's society, students, even in the privacy of their own chambers are not free from annoyance. Although they may lead studious lives, meddle with nobody, and receive and make few visits, they are none the less submitted to a rigorous oversight.

"In a Russian University everybody, student and professor alike, is under police supervision. An authority, called the Inspector, is in fact a delegate of the general police. He can do almost anything, and with the approbation of the minister who directs his proceedings, he may expel a student for one or two years, or for ever, without any sort of inquiry or trial. Many of the students being very poor, depend for their daily bread on the giving of private lessons. This cannot be done without police authorization, and the Inspector by a stroke of his pen can deprive any of these students of the means of livelihood. Since 1878 all students in Russia have been placed permanently under martial-law, although this monstrous regulation has not yet been applied in all its rigour; yet it is true that—to use the words of M. Stepniak—Russian Universities resemble rather fortresses whose garrisons are permeated with sedition, and ready at any moment to break into open mutiny, than homes of learning and science.'

"With regard to secondary schools, the policy of the Minister of Public Instruction is thus summarized by M. Stepniak:—

1. To oppose by every possible means the diffusion of secondary education, to render it as difficult as possible, and make no concession save at the last extremity when all the means of resistance have been exhausted.

2. When resistance becomes impossible, to try to exclude from the benefits of secondary education the professional classes (to whom it is a matter of life and death), in order to confine it, as far as it may be, to the richer nobility and richer citizens.

3. The privilege once granted to these classes to make the instruction given to their children as sterile as possible, and so arrange matters that it may be imparted to the fewest number.

"With regard to primary instruction, the Russian charateristics are two marks or notes, which distinguish it from all other countries. One: 'In other countries there is minimum of education which all children must reach, in Russia there is a maximum beyond which they must not go.' The other: 'That Russian school boys of from ten to seventeen may now be punished for so-called political offences and for holding erroneous political opinion' The general feeling of the Government on the nature and extent of education cannot be better shown than by referring to the educational code called the Gymnasial Regulations, 'the explanatory appendix to which says roundly that the less history is studied the better.' The study of Russian literature is also banned, and general geography, on account of its 'dangerous tendencies,' is proscribed. It may suggest 'conflicting conclusions and give rise to useless reasonings.' In other words, the study of geography may peradventure lead to discussions on political and social subjects."

QUERIES.

(1) *What is Revelation? How is the Christian Revelation superior to our Vedic and other Revelations, held pure and divine?*

Revelation is a manifestation of God. But God is manifested through Nature and Conscience. How then is Revelation differentiated from any such manifestation? To this we would reply that Revelation is a communication of the character, purpose and will of God, of a higher, fuller and more specific kind than Nature or Conscience can be the channel of. This communication is made through some person or persons, specially inspired and thus fitted to be the medium of the communication. And the object of it is human salvation.

We think the Christian Revelation to be superior to the Vedic, for this amongst other reasons, that while the salvation offered by the Vedas is not for the many, but for the philosophic few, who by a long course of inertion and abstract thought strive to reach the goal of "release," that offered by Christ is for all—for the poor, the simple, the unlearned, as well as for the rich, the wise the cultured. Moreover, whereas the salvation offer-

ed by the Vedas is the submerging of the personal consciousness of the individual in the unconscious impersonality of the Absolute, and thus virtually annihilation, the Salvation offered by Christ is the communication of a nobler, purer, fuller and more intense conscious life—a life in conformity with that of God—the life of holy love. In this way we think the Christian Revelation is more adapted to the wants and aspirations of mankind. As the poet says:—

"Whatever crazy sorrow saith,
No life that breathes with human breath
Has ever truly longed for death.
'Tis life, whereof our nerves are scant,
O life, not death, for which we pant;
More life and fuller that we want."

(2) *What religion do you hold the best and the oldest? If you name some one, other than the Hindu religion of the Vedas, kindly give some contemporary historical evidences to prove its genuineness in such a way as to lead one to almost a conclusive presumption that the evidences and proofs given are authentic and not fictitious, and convince him of the truth of the religion.*

We make no attempt to answer this question, and that for various reasons. In the first place, there is no necessary connection, as our correspondent seems to assume, between the age of a religion and its excellency. The best religion need not also be the oldest, nor the oldest the best. In the second place, it is difficult to see what can be meant by the term 'genuineness' in the connection in which our correspondent uses it. The ordinary meaning of a genuine religion would be a religion really believed by those who profess it. What, however, we suppose our querist really means to ask is, whether the documents on which the best religion in our opinion is founded are genuine. In that case, as our answer would be 'Christianity,' what we should have to do, were we to undertake to reply to the question, would be to show that the Books of the New Testament, and especially the Gospels, are genuine. Now, we have said much on this point in our answers to queries in recent issues, and to these we refer our correspondent. Besides it is quite out of the question that we should, in the space at our disposal, prove the genuineness and authenticity of the evidences of Christianity. These do not lie in a nut-shell. Any specific point in connection with them, we shall always be glad to discuss. But our correspondents should remember that time and space, if theoretically infinite, are practically limited.

(3) *Does the Bible contain any account of the origin of evil? It speaks of its entrance into humanity in its temporal manifestations. Is the account an allegory? If so, why does Christ treat it as history?*.

The Bible possibly alludes to the introduction of sin, or moral evil, into the universe, when it speaks of the "angels who sinned" and "kept not their first estate." No hint however is given of the occasion of their fall. If the Bible does not explicitly state, it seems nevertheless to imply, that the chief of these angels, who is called the "Devil," and of whom it is said that "he abode not in the truth," was the means of introducing sin, or moral evil, into our world. Many regard the third Chapter of the Genesis as more or less allegorical. Nor do we think there is any *prima facie* objection to this view. It is admitted that there are allegories in the Bible. The *Song of Solomon* is regarded by the majority of Christians, especially by those who hold the strongest views of the inspiration of the Bible, as allegorical. It is not that it is avowedly allegorical. It neither itself professes to be such, nor is it spoken of as such in any other part of scripture. It is regarded as allegorical simply because of the supposed difficulty of accounting for its inclusion in the canon, if interpreted literally. In like manner, the account of Creation in Genesis is regarded by many orthodox Christians as not literally true in detail, while, at the same time they hold that in spirit and main outline, it is true both to religion and fact. Further many of Christ's discourses are parabolic, the parable being a species of allegory, and it is interesting to notice in this connection, that the introduction of sin, if not into the world, yet into the individual soul, is allegorically described by Christ in the beautiful parable of the Prodical Son (Luke xv. 2.) If then various portions of the Bible are admitted to be allegorical,

either by profession or by interpretation, it is at least an open question, whether the narrative of the Fall should not be so regarded. In opposition to this view it is pointed out that the book of Genesis is on the face of it historical and it is extremely improbable that important portions of such a work should be allegorical. To this it may be replied that the Creation and Fall are, each in a different way, so exceptional in character as to require exceptional treatment. On the one hand the Creation of the world, from its very antecedence to the world, cannot form part of the world's history. Further it is a thing *sui generis*—unique. and cannot be described in literal language. On the other hand, the Fall of our first parents is so typical in essence of the individual experience of each one of their progeny, while the individual experience is at the same time so infinitely varied in form, that it might well be that the inspired writer should invest the common spiritual fact in a form which, while not literally applicable to any one case, should yet typify all. Our correspondent is mistaken in supposing that Christ treats the account of the Fall as history. It is not recorded that He ever referred to it in any shape or form. The apostle Paul, however, refers to it in two passages of his Epistles (2 Cor. ii. 3. 1 Tim. ii. 13—14) and he apparently refers to it as if it were historical. That, however, does not prove anything in our opinion. It is very common amongst preachers of the Gospel to refer in their discourses to incidents and characters in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, as if they were historical facts and persons. Thus, in a sermon which now lies before me, I find the following. "The sinner under conviction of sin by the law, is like Bunyan's pilgrim, when he found himself under Mount Sinai, and heard the thunders rolling and saw the lightnings flashing overhead, insomuch that he dared neither go forward nor go back, and yet felt that to stand still would be certain destruction." Here there is not a single word to suggest that the incident referred to is allegorical; yet both the preacher and his audience must have known it well.

(4) *Have we any knowledge of what temptation would be to a sinless creature?*

By a 'sinless creature' we understand, a person who, while capable of sinning, has never yet sinned. To such a person temptation, whatever its outward form, will be a solicitation addressed to his will through his lower nature, urging it to choose a course of action which his higher nature—his knowledge of duty—condemns. This solicitation is something that requires to be resisted and that requires the forth-putting of moral energy to resist. If the person who is tempted has been tempted already, often it may be, and has resisted the temptation he may have acquired a moral stability that will make the present temptation hardly felt. If, on the other hand, he is untried, the present temptation may be a terrible trial to him—a trial under which he may fall.

(5) *Is evil necessary?* Moral evil is certainly not necessary. If it were it would not be moral evil. But it may be that temptation is necessary, and that therefore the *possibility* of moral evil is necessary.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE EARLY ARYAN COLONY IN SOUTH INDIA.

To the Editor,

Christian College Magazine.

Sir,

I read with considerable interest Mr. Wamba's letter on "The supposed Buddhist Monastery at Cape Comorin" in the June No. of the Magazine. If such a Monastery did exist at Cape Comorin at all, it is very strange that no mention is made of it in the writings of Fa Hian or Hiouen Thsang or in the Maha Wanso. The two Chinese writers would certainly not have failed to notice it, seeing they record minutely all they saw or heard during their extensive travels. The latter part of

Mr. Wamba's long letter relates to the early Aryan settlers in South India, who, he maintains, were Kshatryas. If I understand him aright, his line of argument seems to be as follows :—We find traces of Sanscrit speaking Aryans in South India long before the 3rd century B. C. These Sanscrit speaking people were independent of and prior to the Buddhist Colony that passed on to Ceylon (Tamrapanni) through South India. These men could not have been Brahmans, who, according to Bishop Caldwell, came to South India in the capacity of religious teachers (not of warriors) and obtained complete ascendancy over the Dravidian inhabitants by flattering them in various ways—which is hardly the way by which they could make their unquestionable intellectual superiority felt by the Dravidians. It is not probable that Vysias or "Northern Mariners" were among the Aryans, the foremost to come all the way to Cape Comorin. The worship of Kâli had found its way to South India at least three centuries before the Christian Era. Kâli is the goddess who is worshipped by the Kshatryas as their patroness. Therefore the early Aryan settlers must have been Kshatryas. Tradition, Puranas, and Inscriptions say that the Chera, Chôla aud Pandya kings were Kshatryas. The most celebrated dynasty of those three was the last, which contained kings who patronised literature and who were consequently called "Ptolemies of India." The Pandya kings are called "children of Kâli" which shows they were Aryan Kshatryas and consequently not "Dravidian Polygars or Chieftains." Aryan kings of North India and Ceylon are represented to have intermarried freely with the Pandyas. The names of most, if not all, of the Pandya kings are Sanscrit words. That the whole list of kings should have been a fabrication of some imaginative being is improbable. It is likely therefore that the Pandyas (as well as the Cheras and Chôlas) were the Kshatrya adventurers from North India.

The Maha Wanso corroborates Mr. Wamba's supposition that Brahmans followed in the wake of Aryan Kshatryas. It makes mention of Jotiyo, a Brahman Engineer, who was taken to Ceylon by Wijayo, an Aryan king and therefore a Kshatrya who conquered Ceylon and established his kingdom there. Jotiyo was taken to Ceylon in order that he might construct tanks for irrigation purposes, as early as the 4th century B. C. A Ceylon inscription of the 3rd century B. C. makes mention of the people of Ceylon borrowing certain regulations concerning the use of water from the "Damiloes" who had a settled Government. If the rulers there were not Kshatryas, it is surprising that Wijayo did not think of conquering them before proceeding to Ceylon. It would be interesting to know how such an excellent Government was in existence in South India so early, if the rulers were not of Aryan origin. If Wijayo and his men were Brahmans why is not that fact mentioned and why should one man be singled out of the many ?

Mr. Wamba incidentally mentions that the Tamil equivalent for the Sanscrit word Kshatrya means *learned men*, that the Pandya kings were called *children of Kâli* and that one of their titles was *Kanni Nadan*. He is not probably aware that near Cape Comorin is found, even at the present day, a class of people whose name, according to Bishop Caldwell, is a syncopated form (which is allowed by the rules of Tamil Grammar) of *Shandrar* meaning *learned men*, who, according to the learned Bishop, consider themselves "children of Kâli," and whose caste title is the same as that of the ancient kings of South India viz. *Nadan*, which, according to the same authority means "rulers of land." Tamil classical poems, dictionaries acknowledged by Tamil scholars to be standard books, and the Santôr Puranam support Bishop Caldwell's remarks. The *Shandrars* claim to be of Kshatrya origin and the Santôr Puranam makes it appear that they are an off shoot of the early Pandya dynasty. Their claim and the authority of the Santôr Puranam do not carry much weight. But Sasanams (copper-plate documents) five centuries old, clearly show that their claim is a just one. Those Sasanams, among other things, contain the names of Kâli, of the Pandya king from whom they are descended and of some distinguished men in that

caste, and a list of royal presents obtained by the members of the caste, as well as an impression of the coin issued by them. Of the distinguished men mentioned, we might select two. One was Mahodara, the Prime Minister of Ravana, the Rakshasa king of Ceylon. Bishop Caldwell makes mention of him as a *Shandrar* on the authority of bare tradition. The other distinguished *Shandrar* was no other than an apostle of Siva, Yenathi by name. He is represented in the Peria Puranam, the Bible of the Sivites, as one skilled in the use of arms and an instructor of the Chôla kings in the art of war. He must therefore have been a Kshatrya as none but Brahmans or Kshatryas were allowed the use of arms, much less the privilege of being instructors of kings. Unless Mahodara and Yenathi were Kshatryas, why should they be grouped with Kâli, the patroness of Kshatryas and with the Kshatrya Pandya king from whom they claimed to be descended? That a coin should have existed, (called after that caste) shows that some of the members of the *Shandrar* caste were rulers. The Sasanams also mention the various titles conferred upon the caste by the sovereigns for deeds of valour. The Sasanams are in the possession of the descendants of men who were the priests of ancient sovereigns. Though the direct line of the Pandya kings has become extinct, this caste continues to exist, though of course it does not occupy its rightful position in the social scale. The existence of this caste in the vicinity of Cape Comorin, together with their claim to be called Kshatryas, backed by many good reasons,—too many to be mentioned here—show that Aryan Kshatryas did really come as far as Cape Comorin. If so, we can easily understand why the Cape was called after Kâli, the goddess of Kshatryas.

One objection may be raised in connection with the coins mentioned above. If the *Shandrars* were only an off-shoot of the Pandya dynasty, how were they allowed to have a coin of their own? Mr. Tennent, in his account of Ceylon, mentions the fact that the early Kshatrya kings in Ceylon allowed their relatives to establish separate principalities in the tracts of land they succeeded in conquering, subject to the authority of the kings, but in reality independent. The same policy seems to have characterised the early Pandya kings. Their relatives became rulers of sub-divisions of the country called *Nadu*, from which they obtained the title *Nadan*—which was also a title of the Pandya kings. These *Nadans* were subject to or independent of the Pandya kings according to the nature of the king that occupied the throne of Madura. The *Nadans*, corresponding to English Dukes, were allowed to issue coins which were known by the name *Shandrar coins* because the *Nadans* were members of that caste and *Shandrar* is the Tamil equivalent of *Kshatrya*. The *Shandrars* are unquestionably the descendants of the colony of Aryan Kshatryas who settled in South India long before the Christian era, although there are many who deny the existence of Kshatryas now (at least in South India) because they don't find any caste called Kshatrya caste, occupying a position next below that of the priestly tribe. When a country falls into the hands of foreign invaders, the original rulers are those that suffer most. In the Bible we read of a descendant of the celebrated King David following the humble calling of a carpenter, living almost from hand to mouth. In a country like India which has been repeatedly overrun by foreign invaders and torn by internal dissensions, it is but natural to expect to find the descendants of the ancient rulers of the land occupying a very inferior position, after having been tyrannized over by successive rulers for centuries together. The policy of the conquerors would have been to crush the spirit of independence which would continue to linger in the bosom of the conquered and to prevent them from regaining their power. The comparatively low position occupied by the *Shandrars* of the present day would not be an argument against their being the modern representatives of the once mighty Kshatrya rulers in South India.

A NATIVE OF CEYLON.